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*The Culture of Contemporary Canada*

ALSO EDITED BY JULIAN PARK

*The Culture of France in Our Time*

# THE CULTURE OF CONTEMPORARY CANADA

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*Edited by Julian Park*

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# Preface

IS THERE such a thing as national culture, and if so what is it? Which predominates, nationalism or culture? The culture of the English-speaking Canadian is simply the recorded reflection of his way of life and his attitude toward it. Although Canada in its present political form is hardly eighty years old, people who are recognizably Canadian have emerged from the old colonialism. Handicapped as they have been by climate and distance, these people have found that their very diversity has presented a unique challenge to their sense of identity. Their unity has been further challenged by the nearness of the United States. Can a nation of less than fifteen million living cheek by jowl with a far wealthier one eleven times its population maintain its individuality?

The means of doing so are not artificial, not political or economic, but primarily things of the spirit and mind, and their appeals are wide and varied. Thus they are hard to evaluate. It is, nevertheless, worth while to try. If this attempt at analysis and evaluation is almost entirely by Canadians, it is because they best can give a reason for the faith that is in them. These authors are not propagandists—some of them are academic critics, others workers in the field—but all have the advantage of a sense, not of aloofness, but of fairness and objectivity, and a sense of striv-

ing, a sense of becoming. This is contemporary history. There have been so many books of late concerned optimistically with Canada's future (see some of the titles in the bibliography at the end of this book: *Canada on the March*, *Canada Looks Ahead*, *Canada in the Making*, *Canada's Tomorrow*) that we should remember that tomorrows have yesterdays as well as today's. The background necessary for each subject discussed in this book will vary. The story of Canadian radio, and to some degree of music, needs little history; that of the other arts and sciences must include some account of the traditions and struggles which produced them. To that extent this book is history, but these writers have not hesitated to evaluate the past and to set forth some of the problems and difficulties that lie in the way of further progress.

Is the culture of Canada Canadian or is it for the most part derivative? Is it a synthesis of the three cultures—those of Great Britain, France, and the United States—which surround it traditionally and geographically? All of the writers agree that it has a character of its own, otherwise they would not, of course, be writing about it. Yet, being frank, they do stress, at least by implication, the immaturity of Canada's culture. Accenting that immaturity, one or two who were invited to contribute declined to do so. One of them pointed to the 1927 meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, a feature of which was the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the formation of the Dominion, when one speaker after another waxed mournful about the backwardness and sterility of Canadian culture. The iconoclasts and cynics were answered, at least in part, by a member of the Association who pointed out that Canada was only three generations from the pioneers (settlers in Ontario, for example, were still facing hard pioneer conditions in the 1830's; there was no university west of Toronto until 1877), and he suggested that it might be well for the members to fix some of their attention on the substantial progress that had been made.

The development of a national culture was more difficult in

Canada than in the other dominions, because Canadians live beside a great established nation, whose ideas, in the form of books, magazines, newspapers, and radio commentaries, have washed in on them in a ceaseless tide. How far have these ideas affected Canadian ways and manners and thought? Where the effect has not been great, it has been due to the stubbornness of the struggle for individuality; where it has been great, it is partly an acknowledgement of the immaturity and unsophistication of Canadian culture.

The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences examined the state of Canadian cultural life toward the end of the 1940's. It sought to determine what national culture existed independently of American influences. The findings, published in 1951 and generally called the Massey Report,<sup>1</sup> speak of these influences as "alien." But while many of the imported mass media may be of inferior quality, if Canadians did not on the whole like them they would produce more of their own. So they would, say they, if they could afford to. The Massey Report recommends to the Ottawa government all sorts of scholarships, grants-in-aid, and other financial inducements to encourage a purely Canadian culture. One of its critics said that it wanted the government to buy culture.

That is a charge quite unwarranted, as well as obviously silly. Frank H. Underhill stated:

The fact is that if we produced Canadian movies for our own mass consumption they would be quite as sentimental and vulgar and escapist as are the Hollywood variety; and they would be sentimental and vulgar and escapist in the American way, not in the English or French way. Our newspapers which are an independent local product do not differ essentially from the American; the kind of news which the Canadian Press circulates on its own origination is exactly like that originated by the A.P. or U.P. Like the American

<sup>1</sup> Named for its chairman, Vincent Massey. Later the Crown appointed him governor general of the Dominion, the first Canadian to hold that office.



ones, they become progressively worse as the size of the city increases, up to a certain point. We haven't any daily as bad as the *Chicago Tribune*, because we haven't any city as big as Chicago; but also we haven't anything as good as the *New York Times*. If *Maclean's Magazine* achieved its ambition, and American competition were shut out from its own constituency, it would continue to be what it is now, only more so, i.e., a second-rate *Saturday Evening Post* or *Collier's*. [That opinion seems too harsh.<sup>2</sup>] It is mass-consumption and the North American continental environment which produce these phenomena, not some sinister influences in the United States. . . . The United States is facing this problem [the relationship between mass culture and the culture of the few] at a rather more advanced stage than we have yet reached, and the more intimately we can study American experience the more we shall profit.<sup>3</sup>

As a matter of fact, most Canadian critics seem to agree that in their periodical press, however good it may or may not be, Canada has its closest approximation to a national literature. Perhaps 70 or 80 per cent of the articles in its magazines have Canadian subjects. For example, a recent number of the *Queen's Quarterly*, out of a total of nine articles, published the following: "Can the Conservatives Come Back?"; "Canadian Opinion and Foreign Policy"; "Canadian Immigration"; "Painting in Canada"; "Archaeology and the Canadian"; "The Job of a [Canadian] University President"; "Weapons of the Mind: For Canada's Armed Forces." Although the magazines may be over-emphasizing Canadian material, one must remember that part of their mission is to interpret Canada to the outside world. It is a pity that the American circulation of such magazines, presenting so authoritatively the Canadian point of view, is limited.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Underhill writes a department in *Maclean's*. Its issue for October 13, 1956, seems more the type of *Life* than of any other American magazine, having notably a richly illustrated article on "Our Hidden Canadian Art Treasure" which might well be read in connection with the chapter on Canadian art in the present volume.

<sup>3</sup> "Notes on the Massey Report," in *Our Sense of Identity: A Book of Canadian Essays*, ed. by Malcolm Ross (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954).

The contributions of most of the arts to a sense of Canadian consciousness, as brought out in the essays in the present volume, seem self-evident. Painting, of course, is one of the chief elements of national unity and, like music, has the particular advantage of being able to express its message unimpeded by differences of language. But obviously radio and television reach more people than perhaps all the arts combined. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation is performing both its cultural and its national duty. It has three objectives—adequate coverage of the entire population, opportunities for Canadian self-expression, and resistance to absorption of Canada into the general cultural pattern of radio in the United States, supposed, rightly or wrongly, to be geared to a lower intellectual level. The Canadian who captures the attention of his fellow citizens in the realm of the lively arts has to be different from, and frequently better than, his competitor in America. He must stand more criticism, and this he gets in large measure from his fellows.

The plight of the humanities, both in the schools and in the nation, concerned the members of the Royal Commission:

Where the humanities are *still* [italics supplied] taught, they seem to be losing their traditional character. It seems to us that the classics have been largely taken over by the philologist, that history is becoming a branch of sociology, that philosophy is under the shadow of psychology, that the study of English literature is losing its power to encourage good writing and wise reading. This is the true plight of the humanities; it is not so much that they have been deserted as that they have lost their way.

How to resist these influences which are breaking down the humanities? The Royal Commission recommended the formation of a Council to deal with these complicated problems:

We therefore recommend that a body be created to be known as the Canada Council for the Encouragement of the Arts, Letters, Humanities and Social Sciences, to stimulate and to help voluntary or-

ganizations within these fields, to foster Canada's cultural relations abroad, to perform the functions of a national commission for UNESCO, and to devise and administer a system of scholarships.<sup>4</sup>

There are no great private foundations, no large private fortunes, as in the United States, to finance these improvements. The money must largely come from municipal, provincial, or federal governments. The Canada Council is to be established by a grant of a hundred million dollars, charged to the 1957-1958 budget. All the government's cultural activities will be concentrated in an enlarged cabinet post, which will have responsibility not only for general liaison work on the cultural front but also perhaps for the publicly owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, which now reports to Parliament through the Revenue Minister. The Canada Council will of course be free from political influence. Among its duties will be that of providing scholarships annually to ten thousand university students and of aiding artists, dancers, musicians, actors, and others. (Who will take on the job of comparing and evaluating their services to culture?) There will also be federal aid to the universities themselves. The Prime Minister indicated in October 1956 that he is ready to double the present federal grants to universities of eight million dollars. The Prime Minister of Quebec has objected to federal assistance to education on the ground that it would constitute an invasion of provincial rights. The Dominion Prime Minister believed that he met the objection by a proviso that the National Conference of Canadian Universities (a body somewhat similar to the Association of American Colleges) undertake the distribution, thus avoiding any semblance of government control. A prudent Prime Minister!

There has been a growing fear that Canadian universities, most of which were built predominantly on the English model, are concentrating too heavily on technical and vocational sub-

<sup>4</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, 1949-1951* (Ottawa, 1951), pp. 138, 377.

jects. This trend crossed the border into Canada many years ago. Says Hilda Neatby, a professor at the University of Saskatchewan and a member of the Royal Commission:

The general climate of opinion is of course [italics supplied] unfavourable to the purely intellectual life. . . . It is important to consider how much of the "research" that goes on in the universities represents investigations truly rewarding in the intellectual sense; how much teaching is really calculated to nourish and liberate the mind rather than to convey useful facts and techniques. It is a nice question whether the intellectual light of the universities, in becoming diffused over an ever widening area, may not also be growing correspondingly dim. Until this question is answered there is no certainty that Canadian universities will make as distinguished a contribution to Canadian intellectual life in the next fifty years as they have in the past fifty.<sup>5</sup>

It would be depressing to contemplate Canadian universities as vocational service stations. Nor are they, to the extent that many American universities are. As is perhaps implied in the chapter on education, there is a growing tendency to resist the American invasion at more than one point. Canada refuses to adopt many American innovations in pedagogical method in schools below the university level, refuses as far as possible to compute educational progress in terms of credits and hours, refuses to include in liberal arts curricula many subjects which properly belong in technical schools.

This book should really be called *The Cultures of Canada*. The editor of this book obviously had to decide whether to give a separate or a combined treatment to those aspects of culture concerned with bilingualism. He resolved, not without misgivings, to forego a treatment of French literature, chiefly because, regrettably, so little of it has been translated; those who wish a recent critical and historical study are referred to Dostaler

<sup>5</sup> "Cultural Evolution," in *Canada's Tomorrow*, ed. by G. P. Gilmour (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1954).

O'Leary's *Le Roman français-canadien* (Montreal, 1954). Certain scholarly works in French are mentioned in the chapters on philosophy and the social sciences. In religion and philosophy Canada is a land of two solitudes. Philosophy presents such a complex problem that it seemed best to treat it in its two aspects. Here is where, perhaps, the cultural severance is most acute. In general, however, what was in the last generation not only a severance but a clash has become less acute, thanks in part to the liberal and co-operative spirit of many of the professors at Laval University in Quebec. The danger is that this may be a manufactured co-operation; there is still, academically and culturally, far too little bilingual intercourse. The Royal Society of Canada is officially bilingual, but the two languages are used only in the scientific sections, where there is less danger of controversy.

### *Acknowledgements*

I owe thanks to those many Canadian friends who have given me information and advice, particularly to Robert Weaver of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, to Professor Malcolm Ross of Queen's University, for many years editor of *Queen's Quarterly*, and to Professor Chester New of McMaster University. Years ago the history and economics faculties of McMaster, Toronto, and Buffalo used to spend at least one weekend together every year, and on those memorable occasions Chester Martin, Frank H. Underhill, Chester New, and the late lamented Harold Innis were among those who were the stimulating leaders in debate. For years, too, the neighbouring universities of Queen's and St. Lawrence held summer conferences (financed by the Carnegie Corporation, thanks largely to James T. Shotwell) on joint problems of their countries, to which certain outsiders were generously invited. Their proceedings have been published. One of the contributors to this volume is the director of the newly established Program in Canadian Studies at the

University of Rochester. (See Blair Fraser, "Backstage at Rochester," *Maclean's Magazine*, October 13, 1956.) In spite of these evidences of interest between the two nations, there are relatively few courses in Canadian history being given at American universities; the contacts are on too high and too specialized a level. Even on the higher level, the contacts are few: of the approximately 650 dissertations now in progress in American universities concerned with political philosophy and foreign governments, only five have to do with Canada. Libya, Syria, Liberia, Pakistan, even Malta and Vietnam, are the subjects of doctoral theses, but our nearest neighbour appeals to only five young scholars.<sup>6</sup> It is partly in the hope that these academic approaches, largely economic and political, may become more popular and extend to other fields, that this book is conceived.

JULIAN PARK

*The University of Buffalo*  
*December 1956*

<sup>6</sup> *American Political Science Review*, L (Sept. 1956), 807.



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*The Culture of Contemporary Canada*



» PART I BY ROY DANIELLS

» PART II BY WILFRID EGGLESTON

# Literature

## *I. Poetry and the Novel*

Regions Caesar never knew  
Thy posterity shall sway.  
Where his eagles never flew  
None invincible as they.

THESE lines of the poet Cowper, from his "Boadicea," were written in a time of imperial expansion and reflect the sober elation of his age. They may now remind us that Canada, among other regions conquered or colonized by Britain, has never as a country known the discipline of Latin law and language, the hierarchies of an ancient society, the Renaissance concern with artistic form, or the visible monuments of tradition and authority. Canadian literature reflects these lacks. It has no great figures, nothing comparable to the pillars of the British tradition of writing. Even allowing for the shorter scale of our cultural history, we can produce no terms and landmarks. Few of our acknowledged authors have been able to endow their place or their time with its special significance. No temple of epic or solemn tragedy crowns with its glories our sober landscape. Canadian literature is a plank sidewalk angling up the slope of the mountain whose heights are yet unexplored.

Perhaps a dozen Canadian authors have been widely read

outside Canada; among them are Thomas Chandler Haliburton, Charles G. D. Roberts, Bliss Carman, Gilbert Parker, Ralph Connor, L. M. Montgomery, Stephen Leacock, Mazo de la Roche, and Morley Callaghan. Nothing can be said about them capable of bringing them into focus as a group. They must be seen as they appear in an unfolding panorama of social history. Critics faced with this difficulty have turned to describe the frustrations and handicaps of the Canadian writer, and it has become a custom to preface any survey of our literature by a kind of ceremonial lament over our cultural misfortunes. This ritual, slowly changing its form through the years, is a salutary performance. The small size of our population, we say—smaller than it appears, since three-tenths of our people do not willingly read English—and the thinness of its scattered settlements combine to produce a dearth of bookstores and of booklovers. Among those who read, the natural desire for British and American books is too strong to leave much time for Canadian works. The frontier view of the arts still prevails; they are regarded as light recreation, a brief diversion, a stimulus comparable to half a bottle of whiskey; the more violent and tawdry forms are consequently favoured. Puritan censorship, whether Catholic or Protestant, is ever on the alert, and the aesthetic life is regarded as a life misused or at best wasted. The colonial spirit has not died out: London, New York, Paris are the great good places; we ourselves can provide no real centre of culture, having no focus or spiritual centre to our community—no court, no national cathedral, no acropolis, not even an anthem or a flag. The symbol of Canada is the beaver, that industrious rodent whose destiny it was to furnish hats that warmed better brains than his own. So runs the sad story, and it is necessary to recapitulate it if only to realize how much the situation has improved in recent years. Not one of the adverse conditions mentioned but has been ameliorated—by a general increase of population and the rise of metropolitan centres; by a real recovery, in both material and spiritual values, from the effects

of depression and war; by the rise of a whole new generation in some degree liberated from the exhausting labours and anxieties of the pioneer.

In a less acute form, however, these difficulties still persist, and to them is now added a new dilemma. The preoccupation of Canadian writers is with regionalism and nationalism, in the sense of corporate self-examination and self-realization; but the questions being asked with the greatest intensity in, say, Britain and America, are international. While in Canada we struggle toward self-understanding, seeking insights that will reveal our own nature; while we reach toward self-expression, elaborating skills and techniques; while we cultivate self-criticism so that a new Canadian novel resembles an infant in a household of anxious aunts—all the while the great world is compelled to deal with terrors and vast hopes transcending national bounds. Are Canadian novelists to fulfil Milton's fear of writing in "an age too late"? Isolation is no longer a tenable position for the Canadian artist, nor is it any longer the actual position of Canada in the world of nations. The great wind of the world sweeps over our so-called barriers of mountain and plain and is scarcely checked by the width of the frozen northern fastness.

What then can we honestly put before the intelligent enquirer from beyond our borders who has the world's great traditional works of literature in his library and who turns to us with a cultivated taste and an open mind? Without hesitation we can solicit his interest in certain struggles of the human spirit which our novelists represent, we can offer him the secure delight of well-wrought poetry, we can promise him some memorable glimpses of an unfamiliar landscape, some sense of a vast and unforgettable terrain.

We can also make half-a-dozen suggestions to smooth his path into our untrampled world. First, that he give a little preliminary attention to Canadian geography and history of settlement. British and American writers are so well served by the multitude of agencies disseminating background information that reader

and author alike take all this for granted. But let it be recalled with what grudging difficulty it was conceded that American literature had a character of its own, worthy of study, capable of unique delights. And how slowly this realization dawned as familiarity grew, not only with American belles-lettres but with the sweep of American history and the nature of American social life.

The most inviting gateway to Canadian writing, as to its American counterpart, is through the works of the older authors. Whatever in the Canadian tradition corresponds to Melville, Hawthorne, Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman is first to be attempted. Once this is understood, the rest is easy. The greatest need in Canadian criticism is not for the sympathetic review of current productions ("this ought ye to have done and not to have left the other undone") but for the establishment of that background which alone can give meaning to them below their verbal superfluous.

More difficult for the inquiring reader, the hypothetical man of goodwill, is the admission of a double standard of judgement, the frank recognition that foothills have a character and beauty of their own and that beyond them lie, in another dimension, the Rocky Mountains. Edward K. Brown (whose untimely death in 1950 was a lamentable loss to Canadian culture) once wrote to this effect:

Careful interpretation, conducted with insight and a measure of sympathy must precede judgment, and in writing of recent or contemporary poets it is much wiser to make sure that one's interpretation is adequate than to press on to judgment. . . . When I say that 1948 has been a year of exciting achievement in Canadian poetry, I mean that at least half a dozen poets have brought out books in which there are genuine poems which offer delight; I do not mean . . . that the Nobel prize was awarded to Mr Eliot only because Sweden has not heard of our strength.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Letters in Canada," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, xviii (1948-1949), 255.

We need a mixed standard of judgement that will be willing to take pleasure in many things for many reasons. All judgement (except the Last) is relative, and whatever is judged deserves categories appropriate to its nature.

It should also be remarked that the approach to our literature here attempted is from a Western point of view. A flight across Canada reveals that the major landing fields are few in number and that each has its own merits as a point from which the country as a whole could be assessed. The centres are few and become more widely separated until the last is reached on the edge of the Pacific. From this point of vantage (or disadvantage) the "commercial empire of the St. Lawrence" will seem a long way off; so will French Canada, and, even more, the Maritimes. But this country has never had a true focal point since the fall of Quebec, has never been felt as a "precious stone set in a silver sea." The best the heralds could offer as a motto to our coat-of-arms is "a mari usque ad mare," an excerpt from that text which declares, "He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth"<sup>2</sup>—from Atlantic to Pacific, from the St. Lawrence to the Polar regions—bounds without a centre. The Westerner can therefore permit himself to hope that his own view is as valid as another's; he may even borrow from Californians the confidence that the West most clearly embodies the formative processes of the frontier, an understanding of which is the first necessity to an understanding of the country.

The large facts of Canadian life—if we except the international issue—are first the land itself, the great terrain, and second the juxtapositions of race, nationality, and creed within the country and upon the continent.

One is forced to use some such word as "terrain" instead of "landscape" because the land of Canada is not felt primarily as spectacle, panorama, eye-rewarding scene; it so strongly determines action, enlarges or limits human possibilities, governs the

<sup>2</sup> Psalm 72:8.



whole strategy of civilization. The Canadian, in whatever region he sought to subsist, was from the beginning conditioned by climate and the qualities of wood and wind and water that climate brings. Climate, in turn, has been known and felt to depend upon the size, shape, position of the North American land mass and, region by region, upon vast and visible geological features. This early preoccupation with the earth itself—great mountain chains or worn-down plateaux, links of lake and river, flat-bedded prairies—explains why the Royal Society devotes one of its three scientific sections entirely to the science of geology.

On a humbler scale, the most ignorant and imperceptive emigrant could hardly fail to feel the nature of the immediate landscape as with his two hands he wrestled with rocks and roots or with the unbroken sod of the prairies, sweating out a living from the soil. Only within the last decade, with the growth of cities and the new flood of immigration, has one hesitated to say that the majority of Canadians are at some time in their lives engaged with the landscape—the terrain.

It could be argued plausibly that our history is largely geographic. Early explorers sought for a passage by water through the land mass and named the rapids of the St. Lawrence "La-chine," believing them the road to China. When the French regime ended on the Plains of Abraham, Wolfe's troops had reached that battlefield by climbing a cliff. The exploration of the far west was almost purely a matter of overcoming physical obstacles, and Simon Fraser rightly gave his name to a river along the walls of whose canyon he had clambered his perilous way. The rebellion of 1870, which nearly changed the course of Canadian history, was subdued by Colonel Garnet Wolseley, whose main task lay, not in fighting rebels, but in moving his troops, with improvised transport, over hundreds of miles of virgin territory.

Certain panoramic views of the vastness of Canada have taken

shape in the imagery of Canadian poets, but such views are a very recent acquisition and their sweep, however compelling to the imagination, is generally incomplete geographically. Traditionally, through the decades of exploration and settlement, the land was viewed as setting harsh limits to any ease of movement, and this traditional view, though it may appear to be belied by the present ease of air travel and the thrusting power of railway locomotion, is nevertheless permanently valid. The depth of winter ice locking the St. Lawrence and the Lakes is an obstacle as permanent as the climate; the enormous barren area of the pre-Cambrian Shield permanently separates the prairies from the fertile fields of southern Ontario; the Rockies show no sign of bowing even before the atomic powers of man; and the vast north (unlike the much narrower arctic region of Russia) yields to exploration and to settlement only with the most reluctant delays.

Three books which represent the traditional attitude toward the land, besides being central in the literary tradition, are *Maria Chapdelaine*, *Roughing It in the Bush*, and *The Man from Glen-garry*. One hastens to admit that these are not works of the first rank, but the first two at least and the first one especially are worth reading for the light they throw on the sensibility of past generations, much as Charles Reade or Charles Kingsley throw light on the English Victorians. All three reveal, in simple and clear shapes, some enduring elements in the collective Canadian mind. They reveal, moreover, three important racial elements in the country, three aspects of religion, and three separable views of society.

*Maria Chapdelaine*, published in 1916, is the work of a young Frenchman who was killed in a railway accident. Louis Hémon (1880-1913) was born at Brest and educated in Paris; he lived in Canada not more than a year and a half. It is an irony that this novel which has become a classic of "habitant" sensibility should have been written by a European who had taken his

degree in Oriental languages. It should be added, parenthetically, that in the history of Canadian writing this irony is everywhere apparent. Our most substantial and impressive poet, Ned Pratt, took his origins in old Newfoundland. Our most important younger novelist was brought up amid the sound of Gaelic voices in Cape Breton (precauseway). Our most systematic critic of Canadian literature was born in New Zealand and went to school in England.

*Maria Chapdelaine* is, in the most literal sense, a story of the land. The characters and the plot are fully absorbed into the theme; the theme is implicit in the setting; and the setting is a small farm buried in the Quebec bush. We find Maria's mother burdened with the problems of the pioneer:

"Perhaps it is wicked of me to say so; but all my married life I have been sorry that your father's taste was for moving, and pushing on and on into the woods, and not for living on a farm in one of the old parishes." Through the little square window she threw a melancholy glance over the scanty cleared fields behind the house, the barn built of ill-joined planks that showed marks of fire, and the land beyond still covered with stumps and encompassed by the forest, whence any return of hay or grain could only be looked for at the end of long and patient waiting.<sup>3</sup>

Maria's own story is a simple one. She is a young girl with three suitors: François, Lorenzo, and Eutrope. The first is a bold young woodsman who, on his way to see her in the dead of winter, is lost in the bush and perishes of cold. The second, Lorenzo, tries to induce Maria to leave the land and emigrate with him to the United States. It is the third, a modest, almost timid, aspirant with a little half-cleared farm to offer her, who wins her hand. But the characters are barely sketched; it is the land—the dense, menacing bush, the burned-over clearings, the

<sup>3</sup> Louis Hémon, *Maria Chapdelaine*, copyright 1921. The excerpts from this book are quoted with the permission of The Macmillan Company and The Macmillan Company of Canada.

intense enduring snows—that dominates the story. And it is the call of the land, promising a way of life, a faith, a family, and a future, that holds Maria to her Quebec village. She is in love with her native province, with the soil itself:

The marvel of the reappearing earth in the springtime, after the long months of winter. . . . The dreaded snow stealing away in prankish rivulets down every slope; the tree-roots first resurgent, then the mosses drenched with wet, soon the ground freed from its burden whereon one treads with delighted glances and sighs of happiness like the sick man who feels glad life returning to his veins. . . . Later yet, the birches, alders, aspens swelling into bud; the laurel clothing itself in rosy bloom. . . . The rough battle with the soil a seeming holiday to men no longer condemned to idleness; to draw the hard breath of toil from morn till eve a gracious favour. . . .

You ask if this is not sentimentalized. It is. But it is rooted in reality, and it presents a vision of the country and of the land which has entered deeply into the French-Canadian consciousness and remains potent—in politics, in religious affairs, in literature.

*Roughing It in the Bush* is not fiction but fact. Its author, Mrs. Susanna Moodie (1803–1885), has here given us a cursive account, often in diary form, of her emigration to Canada with her husband in 1832 and of their struggles to effect a settlement in the bush. He came from an Orkney family and was a lieutenant of a fusilier regiment, retired on half-pay. She was of a Suffolk family named Strickland, a woman of great vigour and ability and of a strong, unpretentious, Anglican piety. They underwent hardship and privation and the land seemed untameable, yet she was able to rise at times into a kind of ecstasy in the appreciation of natural beauty. She understood and had the courage to set down what is often ignored or treated with contempt—the unfitness of a gentleman for the slogging labour of bush settlement. She grasped with all the power of bitter experience the fact that drudgery kills humanism, that literary

culture and artistic appreciation are consistent with simplicity of life, with hardship, and with peril, but not with drudgery, the unabating, unalleviated toil of the bush settler.

The weight of a thousand tasks and frustrations is from time to time lifted by a vision of solemn beauty and religious peace. The record of such moments in Mrs. Moodie's pages is sometimes very moving:

It was midnight when the children were placed on my cloak at the bottom of the canoe, and we bade adieu to this hospitable family. The wind being dead against us, we were obliged to dispense with the sail, and take to our paddles. The moonlight was as bright as day, the air warm and balmy. . . . The very spirit of peace seemed to brood over the waters, which were broken into a thousand ripples of light by every breeze that stirred the rice-blossoms, or whispered through the shivering aspen-trees. The far-off roar of the rapids, softened by distance, and the long mournful cry of the night owl, alone broke the silence of the night. Amid these lonely wilds the soul draws nearer to God, and is filled to overflowing by the overwhelming sense of His presence.

In both the books, the idealized novel of French Canada and the authentic diary of a hard-working Englishwoman in Ontario, we have the same double view of the land as enemy and friend, as opponent yet benefactor; as a source of awe and terror, of fatigue and exhaustion, yet as the giver of joy and exultation, the fountain of sustenance and hope.

The third book, *The Man from Glengarry*, published in 1901, is an outpouring of the nostalgic love of the author, Charles W. Gordon (1860-1937) under the pseudonym of Ralph Connor, for the scenes of his boyhood in Glengarry County, Ontario. A single summary quotation will suffice to illustrate Connor's feeling for the land as the source of individual and social virtue:

They were sons of the men who had come from the highlands and islands of Scotland in the early years of the last century. Driven from homes in the land of their fathers, they had set themselves with indomitable faith and courage to hew from the solid forest,

homes for themselves and their children that none might take from them. . . . Their loneliness, their triumphs, their sorrows, born of their common life-long conflict with the forest and its fierce beasts, knit them in bonds close and enduring. The sons born to them and reared in the heart of the pine forests grew up to witness that heroic struggle with stern nature and to take their part in it. And mighty men they were. Their life bred in them hardness of frame, alertness of sense, readiness of resource, endurance, superb self-reliance, a courage that grew with peril, and withal a certain wildness that at times deepened into ferocity. By their fathers the forest was dreaded and hated, but the sons, with rifles in hand, trod its pathless stretches without fear, and with their broad-axes they took toll of the ancient foe.<sup>4</sup>

The preoccupation with the land which we have been considering has left its mark on the form of traditional Canadian writing. It has given importance to setting and to incident, for pioneers, farmers, and lumbermen are at the mercy of day-to-day happenings arising from a terrain and a climate over which they have no control. It has weakened plot and character even as toilsome labour on the land in real life externalizes the assessment of character into the evaluation of concrete, external achievements. It has given importance to action, hazard, struggle, as contrasted with dialogue, sensibility, and the subtleties of private thought. As a result we have, in Canadian fiction, typical settings and typical episodes but scarcely a typical character. Character, as in the description of the hired man in *Maria Chapdelaine*, is swallowed up in action:

He passed a hand over his forehead and sat down upon a root, running with sweat, overcome by the exertion . . . breathing deeply and saying in a bewildered way:—"I am done for. . . . Ah! I am done for!" But he pulled himself together on seeing her and roared out:—"Cold water! Perdition! Give me cold water!" Seizing the bucket he drank half its contents and poured the rest over his head

<sup>4</sup> Ralph Connor, *The Man from Glengarry* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1901).

and neck; still dripping, he threw himself afresh upon the vanquished stump and began to roll it towards a pile as one carries off a prize.

The final effect has been to define a literary attitude toward the land which, like the very different English attitude toward the countryside, repeats itself down the decades. This attitude may be defined as pioneer rather than frontier; there is in Canadian history only a shadowy counterpart of the American story of a slowly moving Western frontier pressing against the hostility of Indians or Mexicans, then of the Californian gold rush, and finally of the haste at the last to close up with the Pacific Ocean. Our Western Indians offered little opposition to the spread of settlement, our expansion was long retarded, and the Royal North West Mounted Police in many areas preceded the settler. Our expansion, moreover, did not flow in a steady westward tide but bypassed great natural obstacles by passing through Hudson's Bay to reach the Red River and around Cape Horn to reach Vancouver Island.

That these considerations are somewhat superficial cannot be denied. The fact is that neither literature nor any other art form has revealed the inwardness of the Canadian landscape. The painters, in particular the "Group of Seven," have been most successful, and the majestic image of the Muskoka lakes and hills is now on their canvases, with its austere outlines and assertive masses of colour. But all this wildness has not yet been related to the activities of the cities and the presence of the individual human being. Perhaps the crude approach of calendar-art is in its way a bridge, cheerfully offering a colour photograph of a bulldozer levelling a huge platform of crushed rock for some enterprise, among the shaggy hillsides and the snow-covered peaks!

Certain relations, however, are already clear: the terrain engages the writer and makes him transmit into words the very muscular sensations of his characters. The most convincing stretches of our writing are shot through with such physical strains, far removed from the calm appraisals of even so intimate

a lover of landscape as Wordsworth. It follows that the traditional English vocabulary is unsuited for Canadian writing. The associations of "spring," "meadow," "snowfall" are quite different in the two countries. New words as well as new connotations are needed. Such a word is "peavey," the name of a tool consisting of a pole armed with a terminal spike and a hinged hook, used everywhere in the bush. It is an unrivalled implement for moving logs and gives to the user a fine sense of power. It has also had its uses as a weapon in a close-up rough and tumble. But its associations are already disappearing with the advent of logging machinery into the bush, and it will be denied the long centuries of use that gave to the "crooked scythe" its aura of manifold association.

Shakespeare, with his aptitude for crystallizing the permanent features of life, seems to have anticipated the Canadian political situation:

Suppose within the girdle of these walls  
Are now confined two mighty monarchies,  
Whose high upreared and abutting fronts  
The perilous narrow ocean parts asunder.

The image is to the Canadian doubly applicable. Within the country he experiences the juxtaposition of Canadians and French Canadians and within the bounds of the continent the juxtaposition of Canadians and Americans.

These two situations, always present whether active or dormant, are neatly illustrated by a page of the *Vancouver Province* for May 4, 1954. Side by side are two reports, the first from Washington of a speech by the governor general, the Queen's representative, Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey. In the first address ever delivered to a joint session of Congress by a Canadian governor general, he emphasized the need for "infinite patience" in international affairs. He reminded his American hearers that the two countries, in discussing plans of collaboration, will not always agree on tactics though they will never disagree on the



large strategy of common aims: "We may differ now and then on the 'hows' but never on the 'whys.'" The newspaper account noted that Mr. Massey was eight times interrupted by applause. Check by jowl appears a report that Mr. Louis St. Laurent, the prime minister of Canada, had "closed the door gently but firmly on any concession to the Province of Quebec which would involve any greater burden on the federal treasury than the present tax rental offer." The point at issue (still unsettled) is whether sums paid as income tax by the people of Quebec shall be paid to and at the disposal of the federal government in Ottawa or the provincial government of Quebec itself, led by Premier Maurice Duplessis, a fervent French "nationalist." So here, within a few square inches of newsprint, the two sets of "abutting fronts" are embodied in the speeches of our two highest officers of state. A governor general (the first Canadian to hold the office) speaks patiently of patience, showing no subservience to American politics but seeking and ensuing agreement. Our prime minister, in a similar mood, attempts to close the door "gently but firmly" on separatism within Canada itself.

Our concern, however, is not with politics but with the composed reflection of politics in the curving mirror of literary form. At the beginning of a novel published some ten years ago but equally apposite today stands a summary of the elements from which the plot is to be shaped. It is a description of the great bilingual city of Montreal:

Montreal society is divided roughly into three categories labeled "French," "English," and "Jewish," and there is not much coming and going between them, particularly between the Jews and either of the other two groups; for although, as a last resort, French and English can be united under the heading "Gentile," such an alliance merely serves to isolate the Jews more than ever. Hampered by racial-religious distinctions to start with, relations between the French, English and Jews of Montreal are still further complicated by the fact that all three groups suffer from an inferiority complex—the French because they are a minority in Canada, the English

because they are a minority in Quebec, and the Jews because they are a minority everywhere.<sup>5</sup>

To which it might be added that Canadians are a small minority in North America.

The future is, as usual, obscure. The wave of French population, magnificently resurgent after the military defeat which made Canada a British possession, may have reached its full height. A solid front has pushed beyond the boundaries of Quebec into the Maritime Provinces and the northern and eastern regions of Ontario. Pools of French culture spread across the prairies and into the Peace River area. It is possible to feel with a writer in the *Revue Populaire*: "Peut-être un jour aurons-nous la satisfaction de traverser ce continent en ne parlant que français." There will at least be wide agreement with the principal of Queen's University when, having emphasized the need for toleration, he continues: "Canadians have now gone far beyond this point. They have gone to the point where there is recognition by each group of the particular virtues which the other language group brings into the national life."

But a perplexity remains. Cultures blend only with great difficulty. Old loves and loyalties, with all the protective habits they engender, die hard. Is tolerance so universal a solvent, or is unity to be purchased at the price of loss of identities? Even in the comparatively new West, there are memorial reminders of the powerful individualism of traditions. The Anglican cathedral of the city of Winnipeg is redolent with memories of the English settlers who brought with them not only a faith and a ritual but also a tradition of education, a way of life, and an ideal of public service, all of which are still powerful in the community. A few miles away lies the churchyard of Old Kildonan, where the gravestones of Scottish settlers bear witness to a still earlier and more arduous effort of settlement and to a faith no less concerned with education for the service of God and man.

<sup>5</sup> Gwethalyn Graham, *Earth and High Heaven* (Philadelphia, 1944); permission to quote granted by J. B. Lippincott and Monica McCall, Inc.

Across the river stands the cathedral of St. Boniface with the "turrets twain" recalled in "The Canadian Boat Song." Its graveyard holds the bones of Louis Riel, regarded to this day among the Quebecois as a martyr to a French-Canadian cause.

This threefold evocation of the past by the churches of Winnipeg corresponds to the evocation in the three books already discussed. They present us—vastly to simplify even the literary simplification of the actuality—first, with the French-Canadian habitant, as wedded to the soil, devoting all his strength and endurance to land and family, deeply committed to Catholic belief and ceremony, often dominated by the curé; second, with the Scots Presbyterian, doctrinal, self-examining, clannish, with a secret need for self-justification, a grasp of practical things and a drive toward material achievement; and third, with the English emigrant of an established social status, cheerful, courageous, public-spirited, with a genuine if slightly bland piety finding its home in the forms of Anglicanism, tending to find a livelihood in government or professional work rather than in pioneer labour.

These are archetypal and today somewhat old-fashioned figures. Their descendants are often metamorphosed into strange shapes, but the features of this thumbnail sketch persist and the complete types are still to be found in all their shapeliness.

The most striking single attempt to deal in fiction with the problem of the French- and English-speaking Canadas is a novel by Hugh MacLennan, *Two Solitudes* (1945). It is worth making an effort to grasp the plot for its schematic value. Two young people, Paul Tallard and Heather Methuen, fall in love and eventually marry, thus linking two family groups who lean toward this junction with the utmost reluctance.

Paul is the son of Athanase Tallard, an aristocratic old French landowner, whose family counts several generations in Quebec. Athanase's first wife, Marie-Adèle, had been a devout, neurotic woman, tense with unfulfilled idealism and always ailing. Paul's mother is his father's second wife, Kathleen, an easy-going Irish

girl of vague antecedents, whose drifting disposition leads her, after the death of Athanase, into marriage with an American businessman. Paul's half-brother Marius, son of Athanase and Marie-Adèle, is a student who, after a bitter experience in detention for refusing conscription, becomes a fervent French "nationalist" and struggles to live on a poor law practice, supported in all things by his wife, the patient Emilie of habitant parentage. As a bedrock of understood attitudes and received doctrines beneath this complex of characters is the parish priest, Father Beaubien.

Heather, with whom Paul is ultimately to be united, is a Methuen. Her father is a prosperous businessman of an old Scots Montreal family. Her mother, a neurotic socialite, comes of an English family with a long tradition in the colonial civil service, and it is noteworthy that Heather's elder sister runs true to form and marries an Englishman in that service with considerable social pretensions. In the same sort of ultimate relationship to the Methuen family as the priest is to the Tallards is a middle-aged bachelor, Huntly McQueen, son of the manse, Presbyterian in all his instincts, and a wealthy industrialist with interests in Hamilton, Toronto, and Montreal.

Even a superficial reading of the novel reveals that MacLennan has set up the board for the chess-game of Canadian society, has shown complete familiarity with the pieces, and has demonstrated the powers of each—those moves which the rules of the game permit. But even a repeated and searching perusal leaves one with the impression that the game has not been played out, that for reasons deep within its own structure and within the sensibility of the author and his society the plot could not eventuate in more than a number of demonstration tactics, the real issue could never be joined. To this matter we return later on.

The second great confrontation of peoples is, of course, between Canada and the United States. Canadian feeling toward

America is ambivalent and extremely hard to define. It has never received adequate treatment in any art form.

The people of the United States are North Americans whose national identity begins with a revolution and who settled their greatest internal problem by a decisive civil war between states. The people of Canada are North Americans who have avoided both these solutions; Canadian independence of Great Britain was achieved constitutionally and so gradually that not even in Canada is its existence always acknowledged; the parties to Canada's internal problem have achieved a fixed determination never to come to blows. Canadians resemble Americans in many matters both superficial and fundamental, yet differ unmistakably from them, as the most casual crossing of the border at once reveals. Most Canadians feel instinctively that anything going on in the United States will sooner or later touch their own lives. Most Canadians participate, in their own minds, when there is a political campaign in the United States and, were the American government to set up ballot boxes at the border at the time of a presidential election, most Canadians, one can venture to say, would be happy to drive south any distance up to two hundred miles to cast their votes.

The continent north of the Rio Grande (or at least north of the Ohio) has always felt itself a unity, from the days of the fur traders and the old French and Indian wars. Canadians regard themselves as joint owners of the North American living space. They occupy the attic (as one of our poets has remarked). It is larger and colder but has many useful things stored in it yet to be unpacked. Already there are services such as gas and water in which the occupants of the total living space are jointly concerned. For many Canadians the big American community was once the Great Good Place. It is no longer so, yet few Canadian visitors fail to respond to the excitement and dynamic movement of the mechanized (and often greatly humanized) modern American city. The great American foundations, particularly Rockefeller and Carnegie, have generously supported Canadian

scholarship, and their many beneficiaries feel that they are deeply concerned with the progress of Canadian culture.

Canada is historically situated between Britain and America, but the role that many Canadians had expected their country to fill, that of interpreter or mediator between the two greater powers, has never been achieved and there are no signs that it ever will be. The old concepts and the old slogans are out of date, and the expectancy that Canada would be mediator between the great Atlantic powers has gone the way of "Daughter am I in my mother's house but mistress in my own"; Canada is neither arbiter, dependency, nor sphere for America's "manifest destiny." Canada is still finding its way in the blinding light of the contemporary situation.

Americans speak (or, at least, write) a language almost identical with the Canadians'. Their houses and cities and general mechanism of life look similar. To cross from Seattle to Chicago is a parallel geological experience to crossing from Vancouver to Fort William. Colonization, Indians, bush settlement, fur trade, wheat farming and stock raising, transport on a long inland river, westward expansion, boom and slumps, gold rush, frontage on two oceans, contact with the arctic, democratic institutions of fair efficiency, free speech most of the time: these are some of the common experiences which give Canadians and Americans common background. But—and we cannot be too emphatic in this discrimination—these elements occur in very different proportions and combinations on the two sides of the 49th parallel. (Westerners carelessly use this as a synonym for the border in toto, having so far to go before they encounter any other dividing line.)

Canadians do not see eye to eye with Americans, even in matters that concern both countries equally. French Canadians and English-speaking descendants of the United Empire Loyalists are alike in fearing the results of an exercise in foreign affairs of America's enormous political power. It has been well and wittily said that, while the American is benevolently ill informed

about Canada, the Canadian is malevolently well informed about America.

The differences between Canadian and American history, though sometimes subtle, are important. The two countries lie, by and large, between different parallels of latitude, and that alone is perhaps decisive in perpetuating the differences; the European analogue of northern and southern races is of interest here. Canada never had a "Wild West"; its frontier turned slowly on its axis to become northern rather than western and presented a new region capable of being assaulted only by modern machines and techniques. Everywhere in the dual pattern of Canada and America the shape of difference within likeness is observable. In the words of the principal of Queen's University:

NATO will always appear to a Canadian as perhaps somewhat less of an emergency organization and somewhat more of a natural grouping than it does to the people of the United States, for from the time when the first fishermen came to the banks of Newfoundland and remained to establish what are parts of Canada today, Canadians have felt in their bones the strategic significance, a significance in world development, of the narrowness of the North Atlantic.

From these and similar considerations no clear pattern of the cultural relation between Canadians and Americans emerges. This is hardly surprising in view of the brevity of Canadian history proper and of the cultural insularity of its older components. As a result, the wavering reflection in Canadian literature of Canadian-United States relations is excessively difficult to fix and define. It is disappointing but inevitable that the mountain of fact should labour to bring forth the mouse of critical opinion.

The outsider might suppose that Canadian novels and stories would abound with clear-cut American characters. They, in fact, do not (*The Clockmaker* of 1836 being a single striking exception). Canadian novelists in general do not wish to write

directly about America or Americans unless the subject matter of an historical tale, such as Thomas Raddall's *His Majesty's Yankees*, affords a natural frame for historical characterization of a minor kind. Nor do they wish to write in the manner of the more individual American novelists such as Hawthorne, Melville, Mark Twain, James, Faulkner, and Hemingway. Canadian writers, furthermore, are not likely to see the material borrowings Canada has made from the United States as an American influence; they prefer to regard them as Canadian examples of the North American stock in trade. And, finally, Canadian novelists can only rarely assess the cultural, the aesthetic, the spiritual effects of America upon Canada, for these are not yet realized in any usable concepts, observations, or images.

One document which concerns itself with the interrelation and which may in its final results influence Canadian writing is the Massey Report (*Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, 1949-1951*), but the full effects of this admirable inquiry and recommendation cannot yet be assessed.

In the eyes of some critics, however, the Massey Report is a simplification of the dilemma, the dilemma of a community with strong British ties and a North American habitat. In the words of Frank Underhill:

If we could get off by ourselves on a continental island, far away from the wicked Americans, all we should achieve would be to become a people like the Australians. (And even then the American goblin would get us in the end, as he is getting the Australians.) Let us be thankful, then, that we live next door to the Americans. But if we allow ourselves to be obsessed by the danger of American cultural annexation, so that the thought preys on us day and night, we shall only become a slightly bigger Ulster. . . . So if we will only be natural, and stop going about in this eternal defensive fear of being ourselves, we shall discover that we are very like the Americans both in our good qualities and in our bad qualities. Young



Canadians who are really alive make this discovery now without going through any great spiritual crisis.<sup>6</sup>

It comes as no surprise that among those in Canada who have most clearly defined the influence of America upon themselves are the French Canadians. They, indeed, like the Loyalists in Ontario, suffered actual armed American invasion in "battles long ago." The recoil of spirit from things American (not without its counterrecoil) is beautifully shown at the turning point of the story of *Maria Chapdelaine*, where Maria makes up her mind not to marry the young Americanized French Canadian:

In the cities were the strange and wonderful things whereof Lorenzo Surprenant had told, with others that she pictured to herself confusedly: wide streets suffused with light, gorgeous shops, an easy life of little toil with a round of small pleasures and distractions. Perhaps, though, one would come to tire of this restlessness, and, yearning some evening only for repose and quiet, where would one discover the tranquillity of field and wood, the soft touch of that cooler air that draws from the north-west after set of sun, the wide-spreading peacefulness that settles on the earth sinking to untroubled sleep.

"And yet they must be beautiful!" thought she, still dreaming of those vast American cities. . . .

Far removed from this rejection and *arrière-pensée* is a novel by Hugh MacLennan, *The Precipice* (1948). MacLennan himself has said that he is trying in this book to find in the Puritan background of the two traditions a common denominator for American and Canadian life. The climactic scene of the book is set in a Chicago hotel and shows the reconciliation of Lucy Cameron of Grenville, Ontario, with the American Stephen Lassiter, whom she married, parted from, and has now returned to. Lucy's sister Jane, with whom she has lived in Grenville, is a more intense and provincial Puritan than Lucy herself. Stephen, a New York businessman, a graduate of Princeton, comes

<sup>6</sup> Frank Underhill, "Notes on the Massey Report," *Canadian Forum*, XXXI (1951-1952), 102.

from the other Puritan background of a small American town. Lucy and Stephen confront one another in his hotel room:

She learned then that there are moments when human love is no more help to a man than the sight of friends beckoning across a bottomless chasm.

"I think I know what to do, Lucy. But I've got to be alone."

Six months ago she had believed him powerless to check his own deterioration. Now he had reached the yawning edge of the precipice and he knew it was there, he knew the map he had followed was no longer of any use.

"I'm forty years old, you know."

She heard him but she made no answer. Into her mind floated a scene from her childhood in Grenville, her father reading the morning prayers: "And by grace are ye saved through faith, not of yourselves; it is a gift of God."

The walls of the room in this strange hotel in a foreign city seemed to slide soundlessly apart to leave her looking outward into infinite distance. The walls which had encompassed her all her life, the walls of a puritan tradition, were there no longer. But Stephen, even when drunk and in bed with another woman, was more of a puritan than she herself had ever been. In defeat, his judgment of himself was identically the same as Jane's. Behind them both was the same bleakness, the same terror of appearing weak, the incapacity to recognize the difference between a fault and a sin, or a sin and a crime, the same refusal to believe that Christ had meant what he said when he stated that the kingdom of heaven belonged to the poor in spirit. In Stephen's self-condemnation she could hear the authentic ring of her sister's voice and she knew that both of them, Jane deliberately, Stephen by a sort of inheritance in his own subconscious, had spent their lives trying to keep the door shut between their own inner solitude and the mystery of life itself.<sup>7</sup>

Whatever we may finally think of MacLennan's thesis that the Anglo-Saxon tradition in North America fails to provide a via

<sup>7</sup> Hugh MacLennan, *The Precipice* (New York, 1948); permission to quote granted by the author, Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Inc., and Wm. Collins Sons & Co.

media between the constrictions of Puritanism on the one hand and, on the other, sensuality and the worship of power, the fact remains that here in *The Precipice* is the embodied perception that the spiritual problems in North America are shared by both Canadians and Americans and constitute perplexities and agonies which they suffer in common.

The subject-matter of Canadian fiction is on the surface very simple, but the reasons for this simplicity are complex. Literature in Canada always was, from the nature of its historical beginnings, too late for the great conventions of the European system to be of any use. The courtly tradition, persisting in the English concept of "the gentleman," took no root in English-speaking Canada; the pathetic remnant of its glory was held up to ridicule in the character of the remittance man. Much the same is true of the tradition of the Christian hero: in the works of Charles Kingsley the mid-Victorian English version of this figure retains its charm, but the muscular Christians who burst through the pages of Ralph Connor are inevitably comic. No aristocracy or established church has ever flourished west of the Ottawa River. French Canada, which could have supplied both aristocratic and ecclesiastical elements, has been sealed off by the invisible barriers of tradition and language.

The contemporary world, however, offers a plenitude of new subjects. The new role of labour in society makes even the proletarian stories, once avant-garde, look faded and brings forth new characters and new conflicts. Science has leaped into wild and improbable countries, once the province of pure fantasy, and to "science fiction," which has assumed the trappings but not the ideas of science, it is now possible to add new domains in which scientific views of man and society really operate and prevail. Religion in Canada has undergone profound modifications; the largest of the Protestant churches interprets doctrinal, sacramental, ceremonial, and confessional elements into the forms of ethical ideal and social service.

But before the actors in the drama of contemporary thought can be set in motion in an art form, an understandable and acceptable background of Canadian life must be reconstructed. To some extent this background can be built up in the course of and by means of the plot itself. But this is a laborious business; the kind of free and flexible allusion to understood institutions which writers of so-called "decadence," that is, of a full-blown, petal-shedding flower of society, find it easy to achieve is almost impossible under Canadian conditions. Perhaps the realization of the unintelligibility of the Canadian scene comes most easily with the reflection that almost no English author has written convincingly about Canada. The elements that have baffled the British observer are sometimes those that baffle the Canadian himself, but they reduce themselves, on the whole, to his inability to relate land and landscape to life and society. No Englishman has done for Canada what Morier, Kinglake, Lawrence, and, above all, Doughty have done for the Near East. The root of the difficulty is probably that Canadian life resists measurement by British standards and equally resists description as an exotic.

It is recognized, even by exceptional and self-directing writers, that the primary task at the moment is definition and clarification and that the most appropriate methods are those of realism—description and explanation. It is sometimes argued that the lack of finesse in Canadian prose styles is owing to a lack of cultivated sensibility in the writers themselves, and it must be conceded that, had we a leisure class (and therefore a servant class), we might write with more subtlety. Thoreau, who wrote subtly and did without servants was wise in rejecting the appliances of civilization as well. Our domestic machines may be labour saving, but they conduce, not to leisure, detachment and contemplation, but to involvement, manipulation, and pride of cumulative possession. They do not free their possessors.

Our writing is a late germination in a cold northern climate. Hugh MacLennan, in an unpublished letter, remarks:

Not nationalism but the necessity to communicate with readers, was the reason why I introduced so much seeming nationalist material in my early books. . . . Fiction in Canada is at the stage of fiction in the States a century ago. . . . Hawthorne particularly felt the problem we feel—the need of creating a perspective into which American fiction could fit.

A notation of observed facts, by the method of simple realism, must be made if we are to explain our country to ourselves. That is why Canadian novels are filled with description. To the international reader they may at first seem painfully old fashioned, but they have the merit of being true to the sensibility of Canadian society. Description fits our national character, for it brings mastery of the environment. It suits us too because we have no oral tradition such as that Mark Twain and Bret Harte drew upon—the spoken cadence and the hyperbolic imagination of the western yarn and the tall story passing over into the printed page. And in a new country which not even its inhabitants know, there is a great deal to describe. English authors can frequently assume that a complete background and frame of reference will be supplied by their readers; the Canadian can seldom assume anything of the kind.

The descriptive and explanatory approach has necessarily its own dangers. Observed detail gets out of hand, insists on being reported for its own sake, refuses transmutation within a creative process. The actualities demand representation in their own right and will not serve as "objective correlatives" of emotions.

There are many modes of interpretation for the artist, and it is instructive to compare the Renaissance concern for forms and conventions with our own search for objectivity and actuality. On the pages of the learned Elizabethan author there fall the shadow-shapes of great hierarchies of thought; the immediate scene, if it enters, is transformed or subordinated. Not so for the Canadian writer of this century, who must record and interpret an unco-ordinated set of actualities. One important consequence, the implications of which we barely realize, is that,

whereas the reader of Greville and Chapman, and Raleigh (to leave out the greatest figures) was stimulated to share their processes of thought and to enter their "rich-tapered sanctuary of the blest," Canadian writers are still engaged in the more prosaic quest for historical fact and social significance.

An instructive example of the hampering effect of Canadian conditions is afforded by the works of Frederick Philip Grove (1871-1948). Living in frontier conditions of hardship and isolation, Grove struggled to discover within his own sensibility the means of transmitting the vision of life which possessed him. His achievement fell far short of his abilities and his intentions. He saw humanity as living in perpetual conflict, frustrated by natural forces and inhibited by social conventions, unable to realize its dream of love and freedom. It is a concept not without grandeur, and Grove's pages are filled with the emotional force of his ideas. But the gap between his isolated and impoverished life and the milieu of the European literatures with which he strove to compete is too great. The gulf cannot be spanned. In many ways Grove resembles Thomas Hardy, and it is interesting to compare his *Yoke of Life* with Hardy's *The Return of the Native* and to find that it is sometimes, though seldom, within Grove's power—as in the closing scene where his self-tormented lovers drift to a voluntary death in the falls of a northern river—to achieve a Hardy-like effect of tragic gloom and release.

The verbal texture of Grove's novels is rough and irregular (partly because of enforced abridgements), and now that his life and work can be seen in perspective he has become a representative figure, one who embodies the historical problem of the isolated Canadian writer. The effect of profundity which memories and speculation give to a style is forbidden by the immediacy, the harshness, and the splendour of his milieu. Not for him the flexibility of phrase which will suggest both the interior dialogue and the public statement. He demonstrated early and convincingly that a prose possessing its own vitality and able to

embody and adapt a variety of subject matter without losing its own form is a hard-won gift of a long-developing culture, and not to be produced by effort. But when Grove lays down the mantle of the tragic novelist and writes simply of the onset of the seasons in the north, of the perdurable winter that makes the spring so welcome, he writes easily and beautifully. Under his pen loom up the fearful loneliness of prairie travel, the spectral whiteness and terror of the snow, the *élan* of sudden spring and onrushing summer.

If Grove has become a type of past efforts to create adequate forms of expression, the typical figure at the present time is perhaps Hugh MacLennan. *The Precipice* is of absorbing interest as an example of how certain cruxes of composition can be handled. It is worth quoting at some length from Hugo McPherson, a perceptive critic of this novel to whose interpretations I am much indebted:

The formal problem encountered in *The Precipice* deserves illustration. The first section of the novel uses the symbolic technique; the primary significance of the characters is rooted in, or rises out of, a generalized problem. Because the author's integrity will not allow him to present his problem in the gross contrasts of black and white, he creates a group of characters who represent many shades, and tints of the Puritan dye. . . . The first section of the book is convincing and provocative. It develops most of the symbolic characterizations. . . . But once the action moves away from the circumscribed, definable community of Grenville, Ontario, the most serious difficulties arise. *The Precipice* fails to illustrate the "de-Puritanizing" effect of New York, England and Princeton upon Stephen, Lucy and Bruce. The difficulty, of course, is simply that "New York" and "England" resist definition too strongly to be used as symbols. . . . The symbolic figures are led out into the real world where, as symbols on any level, they no longer function. The symbolic technique has broken down.

On the level of psychological representation there is a related failure. . . . The technique of "literal summary of mental life" places

the author in the position of a life-guard trying to save a dozen drowning people. . . . Lacking a new solution to this problem, the author attempts to analyze almost all of his persons. The result is an essential and pervasive thinness of characterization.<sup>8</sup>

Once more we come to the group of paradoxes which lie at the heart of creative and critical writing in this country. The critic who seems most dismayed at the lapses of his author is at the same time most grateful for the illumination they give to the aesthetic theorem. And he will claim for the author of whose techniques he is most critical the same sort of admirable success as Scott achieved in Antarctic exploration.

The strictures we have quoted above emphasize rather than invalidate MacLennan's place as the most provocative of our novelists. It is greatly to his credit to have perceived religion and not the class struggle as our chief problem and the true enigma of our society. It is true that he presents religion in psychological and social terms, not as theology, but his approach is none the less fundamental for that. To those who condemn the apparent laboriousness of his method he had replied unanswerably:

At the present stage the Canadian writer has to *know* what he is talking about. That makes painfully slow work, very hard work. . . . But I can only point out that those who endeavour . . . to settle for the simple tale out of the heart which will reveal all the background implicitly, have not published books, or if they have, that the books have not produced this revelation and have not been widely read.<sup>9</sup>

Keats may have been right in saying that if poetry does not come naturally as leaves on the tree it had better not come at all; but the arts have many viable modes of being and the Canadian novel grows slowly, with all the contortion and tenacity of a pine on a rock slope.

<sup>8</sup> Hugo McPherson, in *Queen's Quarterly*, LX (1953-1954), 2.

<sup>9</sup> From a letter to Hugo McPherson; quoted by permission.



The abutment of one racial tradition upon another and the impact of the land on those who live by it—these two dominant themes combine into various patterns of writing and textures of sensibility; nowhere more inevitably than in the work of Mrs. Laura Goodman Salverson (b. 1890). In *The Viking Heart* (1923) and *Confessions of an Immigrant's Daughter* (1939) she draws upon her firsthand experience of Icelandic settlement in Manitoba. Her virtues lie in the revelation of a Norse sensibility and morale and in her vivid reproduction of the details of daily life under pioneer conditions. These conditions of rigorous climate and threatening poverty are sufficiently similar to those in Iceland itself to evoke full and familiar response from the immigrant families; at the same time the Canadian scene is armed with new challenges which bring out the heroic and pathetic traits of individuals. The *Confessions* in particular stand out as a classic among the many volumes settlers have compiled. Mrs. Salverson concludes with an encouragement to any other newcomer whose native language is not English but who would willingly offer some record of his thoughts to his adopted country:

It can be done by the simple, undistinguished feat of snatching at straws; . . . the moonlight dappling deep water; the sound of withered grasses telling their rosaries of frost and seeds; a thousand images to feed the mind in the sterile days of drudgery. It can be done by robbing sleep to hobnob with the thinkers of times present and past. It can be done by accepting pain, which, like a sharp sword, cuts through the stupidities that shut us off from our neighbors.

Mrs. Salverson will be remembered for her Manitoba novels; the regional label is, indeed, one of the most convenient and satisfactory for Canadian writers. The regions of earliest settlement have, of course, received the most extensive treatment.

Among these, Nova Scotia has an enviable group of exponents. In the stories of Thomas H. Raddall (b. 1903) action and description again combine to produce a kind of novel which is a

staple of Canadian fiction and which no contemporary handles better. In this type of narrative, plot gives way to episode, and delineation of human character is subordinated to the character of the land itself—and, in this instance, to the Nova Scotian seas which ceaselessly surge upon its coast. In *His Majesty's Yankees* (1942) history is recreated with a wealth of detail. The temper is romantic but the descriptive substance highly realistic. It is a story of love and of war, with an attack on Fort Cumberland as its climax, but the predominance of the land itself as theme is confirmed by the last few phrases when war is over and love fulfilled:

Our sons would never give themselves wholly to anything but this rocky homeland on the sea's edge, where life is a struggle that demands a man's utmost and will take no less, where beauty alone is bountiful, and only death comes easily; where courage springs from the eternal rock like the clear singing river, like the deep-rooted forest itself.

In *The Nymph and the Lamp* (1950)—the story of a wireless operator on Marina, a lonely offshore island, of his marriage, of his wife's dissatisfactions and her final and decisive return to him—these elements of plot are made the vehicle for an infinity of sharply realized sense-impressions until the reader's whole sensibility is soaked with Atlantic spray. The most idyllic scenes are brief foils for "the eternal crash of surf on Marina." These two stories are superior examples of two common types of narrative beloved by Canadian authors and readers. Mr. Raddall's particular virtue is a style that makes one see what he sees: "In the long swell out of the northeast the packet-steamer wallowed with the energy of a dog in grass, flinging up her nose and plunging deeply, and giving first one flank and then the other to the green sweep of the sea."

It is hardly possible to think of Raddall without thinking of another Nova Scotian, Will R. Bird (b. 1891) whose stories, long and short, impress upon us the historical background and landscape of his province. The importance of such work lies in

the enthusiasm with which the substance of colonial history and the detail of land and seascape, of life in the settlements, of wind and wave and weather, are made malleable by much working over and become the familiar stuff of tradition.

A more recent entrant into the same field of Nova Scotian life is Ernest Buckler. *The Mountain and the Valley* (1952) deserves more than one reading. It is the story of a farm and a family worked at with loving care so that narrative, description, action, and interior monologue are looped and patterned into a whole like the hooked rug with which the story opens, the concentric circles closing beneath the grandmother's hand, strip after strip torn from old garments with long associations, until they meet at the centre—life's full realization at the moment of death. Symbolism and realism mingle; time is telescoped; rawness and refinement of feeling neighbour one another. The reader is somewhat smothered by the multiplicity of sensations, fights a little for air, and would settle for a greater sweep of action and less involvement. If the book has this weakness of structure, it is because, once again, the Canadian writer, however skilful, however earnest, is impelled to record and interpret fully. But at any estimate, Buckler's craft represents a notable advance, and the rewards of his method are scattered liberally through the pages. The conclusion is perfect: the soul of David Canaan, long seeking its true direction, is at last released and he lies quiet in the snow on the hilltop:

A partridge rose in the gray-laden air. Its heavy body moved straight upward for a minute, exactly. But David did not see that. And then its gray body fell swiftly in one straight movement, as if burdened with the weight of its own flight: down, between the trees, down, swooping, directly, intensely, exactly down over the far side of the mountain.

To leap from one end of the country to the other—and thereby recognize, without recording, the universality of the regional mode of writing—we find the British Columbian scene faithfully sketched in the stories of Roderick Haig-Brown (b. 1908). British Columbia is itself a land of many sharply de-

financed regions, and Haig-Brown's territory is Vancouver Island (commonly confounded, to the annoyance of its inhabitants, with the mainland city of Vancouver). The humorous and idyllic aspects of village life have been deftly rendered in his pages; so too his skill and sensitiveness as a fisherman. In such a novel as *Timber* (1942) the scale of attack is more massive; there is detailed description of logging, complete with glossary of logging terms. This is made the occasion of a sharp attack on industrial injustice to the individual logger. It is a sign of the author's discernment that he has now left this kind of heavy rendition of detail for a lighter, more allusive, and more effective manner, and by so doing has become one of the very small group of Canadians whose every page gives pleasure. Again we encounter the need for ample descriptive interpretation balanced against the almost irreconcilable but equally urgent need for a selective process and a style that will allow some autonomy to ideas and to words.

If we turn to those novelists who have made the most serious (the word is inevitable) effort at interpretation and who are not the authors of a single largely autobiographical work, the names that come to mind are first of all Callaghan and MacLennan. But before they can be considered, it is essential to say something about our novelist with the longest record of public popularity, Miss de la Roche (b. 1885).

The novels of Mazo de la Roche throw, by indirection, a good deal more light on the state of Canadian criticism than on the Canadian scene. Her output has been large and has been read with pleasure and reviewed with appreciation far beyond the borders of Canada. But she is regarded by Canadian reviewers as a hack writer, a purveyor of romantic fantasies, and an insignificant contributor to our national literature. The reasons are not far to seek.

*Jalna* (1927), which won a substantial cash prize from the *Atlantic Monthly*, is the first of a long series dealing with the Whiteoak family. The locale is southern Ontario, but Miss de la Roche is careful at the outset to underline the atypical qualities

of the family mansion; the very name Jalna perpetuates the memory of a military station in India. "It was a square house of dark red brick, with a wide stone porch, a deep basement where the kitchens and servants' quarters were situated, an immense drawing room," and so on. But if it is not a naturally Canadian scene, neither is it a little bit of England; the Whiteoaks "felt themselves cut off definitely from the mother country, though they sent their children to England to be educated." It is rather the novelist's playground where the figures of her imagination cavort, suitably fenced from the world and led on by Grandmother, "clad in a red velvet dressing gown, clasping her gold-headed ebony stick . . . long-beaked, brilliant as a parrot." The vitality of the family is inexhaustible. In *Whiteoak Harvest* (1936), "the dark cords of kinship which bound them inexorably together vibrated with renewed strength. The continuity was absolute. With purged simplicity they found satisfaction in every detail of each other's expression of words."

We are asked, then, to accept the Whiteoaks for what they are, fabrications of a lively fancy, with a vague basis in some aristocratic and ancestral British milieu, but it is this acceptance that our critics, unprepared by previous encounter with Canadian writing of this kind and convinced in their secret soul that only serious efforts at self-interpretation should be allowed to count, refuse to grant. And the critics are somehow right.

If the Jalna books are for export only, we may ask what intrinsic virtues they possess. Liveliness certainly, a pervasive vitality, expressing itself in a multitude of sharply angled scenes, the tumult of family relations in which no single sensibility can be too deeply explored. A fast pace, so that there is no more time for consideration of the deeper motives of the characters than the average reader (bless him!) will have to consider his own.

Morley Callaghan (b. 1903), who has been writing novels since the 1920's, presents one face of an ambiguity which resides

at the heart of all Canadian writing. The more honestly, comprehensively, and persistently the novelist surveys the underlying morale of his community, the more perplexing it becomes. The critics of the arts tell us that in order to portray chaos one need not be chaotic, that art itself lies in the control by form of materials which are in the real world uncontrollable. In practice, however, it is almost impossible for the Canadian writer to hold the silt-laden waters of his stream of confused life in the clear crystal of the imagination.

Callaghan's best novel is, in the opinion of many readers, *They Shall Inherit the Earth* (1935). Of his more recent works, the one which reveals most fully his intention and achievement is *The Loved and the Lost* (1951). Here, though the story is simple and its meaning clarified by some explicit symbolism, there is a great aura of implication, in the varying brightness of which the reader casts about for orientation. Peggy Sanderson, a working girl living in a poor quarter of Montreal, associates with dubious characters in Negro night clubs, is involved with many men, and treats them all with compassion and affection. We see her through the eyes of James McAlpine, a former naval officer, now an academic. Not of the girl's social class, he is drawn to her by an irrational protective love. The squalor of her chosen surroundings seems never to affect her, but their violence she cannot repel. She is raped and murdered by an unknown assailant. Her death, which leaves McAlpine in a state of bewildered desolation, cuts a knot of Gordian involution, leaving a tangle of loose ends. Is the girl's promiscuity, not proved but constantly suggested, compatible with innocence and intelligence? What is to be understood from the many references in the story to diversities of race and religion? What judgements are implied as we are taken from the world of the wealthy and secure to the disorder of the poor districts? Certain intentions Callaghan's practised style achieves with sureness; though sensational violence and eroticism are seldom described, they are felt as constant and palpable; the effect on McAlpine of the girl's

inexplicable way of life comes out in a convincing nexus of idealism, love, and anxiety. Above all, there transpires through the lines of the story the difficulty of maintaining one's individuality in a cosmopolitan city, the home of brutalized minds at every level, the breeding ground of suspicion, hatred, and murder. Yet the vitality of society and the winter beauty of light and snow are also conveyed, and the onward movement of collective and individual minds uncertain of their destiny.

It is tempting to speculate as to the debt Callaghan owes to the underlying Catholicism of his thinking. Although he has been responsive, across several decades, to currents of realism, of social protest, of liberal agitation over race, and so on, he is differentiated from others who have so responded, by revealing a centre of personal sensibility from which no stream of external influence can carry him away. It appears to be a sensibility, and a very personal one, rather than a body of explicit doctrine. All Callaghan's novels have an air of suffusion which the easy conversational tone of his sentences does not lessen. At the close of *The Loved and the Lost* the sunlight falls on melting snow in the streets below the glistening mountain; the distraught and desolate heart of McAlpine turns to the memory of a little church he had once visited with Peggy; as the sound of bells fills the morning air he sets out in search of this tangible remembrance. But he cannot find the place. He is left wandering in the sunlight and the snow. So the novel ends, yet the existence of a centre of peace, of holiness, and of light is implied. If never found, it is ever sought, and there is no implication that it does not exist or that its existence is purely a subjective one—only that a cloud surrounds it.

No less intent upon the moral issue than Callaghan, but far more explicit in his implications and far more comprehensible, is Philip Child (b. 1898), whose earliest novels came out in the 1930's. In Child's work, as in that of a number of other Canadians, the personality of the man himself is so consistently revealed as to steal the show from the fictional characters created.

This is an outcome, not of a defective sensibility in Child but of the Canadian habit of putting an honest revelation of principles at a premium and the disguises and masks of the arts at a discount.

His unfailing message is of faith and love, their sore struggle in the world, their ultimate and invisible triumph. In all his writing, prose and verse, the flame of the Anglican tradition burns unwavering:

A house can light within a child such a candle  
As by God's grace shall never be put out.  
(When Latimer was burned in martyr-fire  
For love of God, was the martyr-blaze no more  
Than flame a moth must dash his wings against?). . . .  
I learned to love the valiant heart, born down  
By suffering or by the approach of death;  
And I have learned to love, though fitfully,  
The willing and unwilling soul, half bound  
Half free, of Everyman, nailed to the cross  
For all his brothers. My candle dwindles down—  
May it burn to the socket.<sup>10</sup>

The settings and characters of the novels vary widely: *The Village of Souls* (1933) is a story of old Quebec; *Day of Wrath* (1945) depicts the squalor and horror of Nazi Germany. But their message is unchanging. Not that it is narrowly doctrinal—Simon, the humble hero who dies at the hands of the storm troopers, is thoroughly Jewish in his sensibility—but Child's own accent of chastened reverence for life is everywhere to be heard, as in the lament for the Jewish father:

They had broken his body and sent him home to die. But they had not made him hate them. That victory, at least, his father had won. He was a man who had tried by all his acts to justify human nature. It warmed Simon's heart to think that, as is a son's duty and right, he had chanted the Kadish for such a father; for who could have known that good man without wishing to praise God?

<sup>10</sup> Philip Child, "The Victorian House," in *The Victorian House and Other Poems* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1951).



The novels of Hugh MacLennan have already been the subject of discussion: they are exceptionally useful in the illustration of themes and techniques.<sup>11</sup> It may be added summarily that his *Barometer Rising* (1941), *Two Solitudes* (1945), *The Precipice* (1948), and *Each Man's Son* (1951) are all of a piece and separately radiate from the same central theme. Self-realization and a reconciliation with life are effected for his characters against various backgrounds and displays of power—the first war, considered as a betrayal of Canadian youth; the social-racial tensions centered in Montreal; the Canadian-American struggle with a disintegrating Puritan conscience; the relation of man to God seen through the prism of Calvinistic doctrine.

It is of great interest to see that MacLennan turns again and again to an examination of Calvinism, the self-scrutiny of the Calvinist in a larger frame. It is not fortuitous that he should complete the triad of which the faiths of Callaghan and Child are the other two members. Nor is it strange that, of all the denominational variants of Protestant theology, Calvinism should today be the most in evidence, in demand, and in focus for criticism: its coherence has brought it, for better or worse, to the fore.

The great bulk of Canadian fiction lends itself so readily to simple classifications related to the effort of collective self-realization that it is well to use other and slighter categories to suggest fresh relationships and avoid monotony.

War novels written by Canadians have a strong family likeness. They have neither the multitudinousness of the American war story nor the calculated reticence of its British counterpart. Their heroes are greatly occupied with the Canadian scene itself. Having joined one of the armed services, they find out a great deal about their country before they ever leave Canadian shores. Overseas, they think much of the actual landscape and life they have left behind, and, whether death claims them or

<sup>11</sup> It is this that has led to his being introduced in a variety of contexts in the previous pages and not treated entire at this point.

they are destined to return, their recollections and rediscoveries are intensified toward a climax. They exhibit, indeed, a particular instance of the general truth that the best way to clarify one's feelings about this country is to leave it for a prolonged period with uncertainty as to the possibility of return. It goes without saying that a great deal of skill is needed to give coherence and momentum to a military story with so much impedimenta. In Edward Meade's *Remember Me* (1946) the recollected experiences are rendered with fine fidelity to the Canadian scene, and every page bears the stamp of complete credibility. The effect on the total structure and movement of the story is unfortunate, however, for neither the hero nor the reader is ever quite liberated from the weight of detail. A similar theme animates Ralph Allen's (b. 1913) *Home Made Banners* (1946), which is more skilfully handled and structurally more satisfactory. *The Long November* (1946) of J. B. Nablo is worth reading as an example of what happens when the famous Canadian reticence, so much deplored, is released in the wrong direction into a torrent of sensational description: "I felt like I'd felt once before when a big farmer kicked me in the crotch. . . . I wanted to puke." In sharp contrast is *The Rich Man* (1948) of Henry Kreisel (b. 1923). This is not precisely a war novel, being the story of Jacob Grossman, a Toronto clothes presser who makes a journey to see his old mother in a Vienna still nominally free of the Nazis, but it bears all the weight of the oncoming troubles and skilfully shows the persistence of hard lumps of misery in the solvent pity and kindness of a Jewish family. The dialogue is unrelieved in tone but the voices are real and credible.

Canadian novels written by women are in general finer in texture, more restricted in scope, and more successful in achieving what they attempt than novels by men. Joyce Marshall's (b. 1913) *Presently Tomorrow* (1946) is a slight narrative of four schoolgirls and of a young clergyman as inexperienced as they in the ways of life. From which of them shall he take a sense of

direction and learn, as the title indicates, that wisdom is to receive life as it comes? After ten years this book does not seem in any way dated; the style is unpretentious but deft in its discriminations among similar things.

Kathleen Coburn's (b. 1905) *The Grandmothers* (1949) puts some firm and delicate roots into the double source of Canadian society—the pioneers and the more recent immigrants. The two grandmothers described never know of each other's existence, but their grandchildren, who come together in Canada, delight to recall and reconstruct the two ancestors, so dissimilar in external circumstance—Upper Canada and Old Bohemia—yet so akin in temperament, strong, resourceful, and compassionate. This assimilation of racial virtues is the very sap of Canadian growth, yet seldom are its stirrings recorded so surely: "The cool blossom-showering little winds of a hawthorn-hedged, orchard-scented Prelic road at dawn, the sweet cedar-spiced winds of the rough, rutted, root-fenced roads of Mulmur, blow again. Lifting the curly lock, the straight lock off the brow."

In Ethel Wilson (b. 1890) we encounter a unique pleasure arising from her unusual technical accomplishment. She excels in producing the single page which is of compelling interest and which, turned, reveals another of equal delight and so on until with the turning of the final page we are left uncertain as to precisely what has happened but convinced that it did happen. Her forte, extremely unusual in Canadian writing, is the line by line texture of the style, unobtrusively guiding the feelings of the reader; a passage as sure as the one which follows can be taken almost at random from her books:

The night, and the doors all shut, and her rejection, and her self-inflicted misery grown to devouring proportions took Vera and shook her and led her—where else could she go?—towards her destruction and her release. They will see, she cried in her heart, what they have done to me—they will be sorry oh will they be sorry. She would strike at everyone with her death. A dark kind

of happiness and a bleak and stupid rejoicing swept over her and left her. Unworthy unworthy said a phantom among phantoms. Alan, her little son, was among these phantoms, but in her distraction she could not seize and hold his image. See these two great planes of wall that crowd down and cut off any escape. I am alone—I will go to the lake . . . must go . . . must go away. . . .

There is a place down the lake where the rough shores give way to a small beach of muddy sand; trees, less thick there, overhang the edge; the shore shelves rapidly. Vera did not say in her mind "I shall find oblivion there," but the dark images crowded her and impelled her to this place to find oblivion. Feeling with her hands, feeling with her feet, whimpering a little, she came to this place and stepped down on to the small muddy sand-strip and without pause into the lake.<sup>12</sup>

Mrs. Wilson's favourite character is that of a girl who by flight, effort, luck, and judgement escapes from an impossible situation and saves herself for another kind of life. This may be told straight as in "Lilly's Story" (in *The Equations of Love*, 1952) or *Swamp Angel* (1954), or it may be inverted, as in *Hetty Dorval* (1947), where the last state is ironically worse than the first. She makes of southern British Columbia a landscape assimilable to the mind; her clear, brief glimpses of characteristic features begin to assemble like a jig-saw puzzle. So, too, with persons: she invites us easily and quickly into the history and sensibility of a character, then moves on to another, to return later. Explanations are never ponderous, syntheses of elements never insisted on. This, we say, as we feel the slight shock of recognition—this is how, in the unordered western provinces, we meet our fellow men and get to know them. This is life, if not Life. Mrs. Wilson's great virtue is that she asks so little of the reader and gives him so much so unobtrusively. He is by turns within the character portrayed and a little above and

<sup>12</sup> Ethel Wilson, *Swamp Angel* (New York, 1954); permission to quote granted by Harper & Brothers and the Macmillan Company of Canada.

to one side. He is never told what to think, so he has the choice of several interpretations—or, if he wishes, none. And at every point he feels, How easy is this unpremeditated prose!

There is a grain of truth in the nasty assertion that prior to 1914 Canadian writers could adequately render only the minds of children and of animals. Certainly the animal stories of Charles G. D. Roberts (1860–1943) and of Ernest Thompson Seton (1860–1946) are better of their kind than any other Canadian fiction of the time. Seton's subject matter, in part drawn from Manitoba and Ontario, and the formative years he spent in Canada make it possible with a good conscience to claim him as a Canadian author. *Wild Animals I Have Known* (1898) is as fresh as ever; its portraits of rabbit, wolf, and partridge remind us that under pioneer conditions the life of a wild animal may be more complex, yet comprehensible, and better material for an art form than the life of his human foe and competitor.

Similarly the life of a child offers a simple unity for creative reshaping. The *Anne of Green Gables* series of Lucy Maud Montgomery (1874–1942) are classics of the juvenile library and have enthralled children for close on half a century. Here is the place where "the simple tale out of the heart" achieves its own simple success.

Of the same kind, though possessing more depth and a full appeal to the adult reader, is W. O. Mitchell's (b. 1914) *Who Has Seen the Wind?* (1947). It is the story of a small boy in a small village: "Here was the least common denominator of nature, the skeleton requirements simply, of land and sky—Saskatchewan prairie." We see the boy feeling his way into a life of his own, in a time of depression, drought, and crop failure, the phenomena of which he accepts without question and without understanding, for he knows nothing different. The effect of the book is greater than the author's expressed intention: the reader may

weary of the deliberate philosophic overtones, but the thin, questing figure of the boy glides into the memory.

Short-story writing in Canada—if we do not define the short-story form too strictly—has a long history. Over nearly a century there has been a gradual change from loosely woven tales of pioneer life and somewhat shapeless incidents to forms more artfully contrived. Such a pioneer as Mrs. Susanna Moodie recorded picturesque incidents, novel scenes, New World characters. The writer today is more concerned to refocus his materials, to retain them on the specially treated film of his own method, and to develop them into a closed composition. The short story being easier to handle than the novel, it has lately been, in its own smaller way, more successful. As the interest in techniques has increased, there has been a shift from the romantic to the realistic. The contemporary story is often devoted to the sorrows of a neglected child, a poverty-stricken woman, or a refugee from totalitarian persecution. It is not likely, however, that the reader of a dozen assorted Canadian short stories will at first be concerned with romantic or realistic tones or with techniques. Rather he will remember the panorama of Canadian scenes: the world of the pioneers with its strong or cunning men who master all opposition; the fisherman's world of treacherous seas and remote harbours; the prairie world of long roads, hot summers, and deep winter snows. A composite of the landscape and life of the country begins to shape. The city is edging its way into the Canadian story picture with increasing tenacity; no longer are animals, country children, farmers, and trappers the staple characters. Factory and office workers, personnel of armed services, business and professional men, all enrich the *dramatis personae* and add more enigmatic motives and patterns of behaviour.

A collection essential to the interested reader is *A Book of Canadian Short Stories* (1947), edited with an introduction by Desmond Pacey. Here the tradition unrolls itself into a panorama

of the past hundred years, a reflection of Canadian life as well as of changing literary tastes. A later collection is *Canadian Short Stories* (1952), edited by Robert Weaver and Helen James of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation; the two dozen stories it contains are a selection from the stories broadcast between 1946 and 1951. The technical excellence of many of these stories is gratifying; the number of animals and children appearing in them must be indicative of some demand from their audience.

At the moment short-story writers in Canada are dependent chiefly on the CBC and *Maclean's Magazine* for a market. This gives a certain family likeness to their output. There is a wide scattering of writers and an abundant representation of regional life, from Will Bird's sketches of Nova Scotia to Edward A. McCourt's (b. 1907) stories of the Saskatchewan west and the realistic British Columbia tales of William McConnell.

It is difficult to single out short-story writers with an assured reputation based on a sizeable body of work. Most of the novelists already mentioned produce occasional short stories; one or two, like W. O. Mitchell, quarry from a persistent vein of fantasy. A surprising number of people have produced one or two good stories and have not been encouraged to go on. Hugh Garner (b. 1913), author of *The Yellow Sweater and Other Stories* (1952), is a reminder that article writing and factual reporting can go hand-in-hand with story writing and give a robust and objective cast to the creative side.

There is general agreement that we need a De Maupassant, someone capable of producing a large number of stories which are united by a sensibility, a style, a locale, and a selection of material. There is general failure to recognize how far Morley Callaghan has gone toward supplying this need. Unfortunately, no collection of his stories has appeared since 1936 and few Canadians systematically read the various periodicals in which his work appears. Always driving at the problem of individuality, perennially unwilling to be jockeyed into premature conclusions, ever on the lookout to see what the individual—"the boy in the

trench coat walking hatless in the rain"—is going to do, Callaghan is tracing the criss-cross of connections and recognitions that determine individual action in our society. He deserves the gratitude of all who are concerned with Canadian writing.

A small body of work which deserves separate consideration because of its value as an object lesson is the group of short stories by Sinclair Ross (b. 1908). His themes are those natural to the prairie farms of the 1930's: the unremitting, unrewarded labour of men, the loneliness and terror of isolated women, the soaring fancies of self-dependent children. His economy of means is beyond praise: a few pages suffice to establish states of mind, to record their outcome in action, to trace their sources to environment, lack of social contact, primitive toil, severe climate. The great strength of Ross is his ability, within a rigidly circumscribed area, to convey the exact and convincing relation between the external and internal worlds, the effects of environment upon the character. His world is sparsely furnished, but the interrelation of its parts is clear. The style is like crystal and as structurally economical. Ross is a sadly neglected writer. His one novel, *As for Me and My House* (1941), has had critical recognition, but his stories have never been collected. He is a model for any young writer. The elements of his world are perfectly related; his style is detached, yet it quivers with a compassion for life; his few pale characters—children, women, men—remain forever in our minds bathed in the perfect clarity of his perception and his sympathy.

Oddly enough, there is in Canadian writing a persistent strain of humorous satire or satirical humour of a high order. Two of our best-known people—Haliburton (in his day) and Leacock—owe their whole reputation to this genre. Life in new settlements or backward communities lays itself open to attack if its pretensions run ahead of its performance or if its customs are thrown into relief by the entrance of a more sophisticated outsider. Puritan manners and expressions in more established



communities are vulnerable because of their uncompromising intensity. The ethics of businessmen and the big city, the by-ways of politics, the hypocrisies of officials, and the "snafu" of the armed services offer other targets.

Thomas Chandler ("Judge") Haliburton (1796-1865) adorned the bench in Nova Scotia for many years and was also for some time a member of Parliament. His role was ambiguous: he loved tradition and the imperial connection, yet he was bound, as a representative of the people, to seek some means of abating the powers of the legislative council. His humorous writings are ambiguous also. His dominant character is Sam Slick, a Yankee pedlar, slippery as his name, crude and dishonest. Yet because the pedlar is self-reliant, shrewd, and inventive he is a salutary contrast to certain types of Nova Scotian: to the schoolmaster, for instance, who says:

All North America is a poor country with a poor climate. I would not give Ireland for the whole of it. . . . Go to every legislature this side of the water . . . and hear the stuff that is talked. . . . Go to every press and see the stuff that is printed. . . . What keeps you here then? said Mr Slick if it is such an everlasting miserable country as you lay it out to be? I'll tell you, sir, said he, and he drained off the whole of the brandy as if to prepare for the effort. I will tell you what keeps me. . . . I'll tell you, sir, if you must know—my misfortune. The effort and the brandy overpowered him; he fell from his chair; and we removed him to a bed, loosened his cravat, and left him to his repose.

The best-known Canadian humorist is, of course, Stephen Leacock (1869-1944) and his most lasting work is *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town* (1912), the town of Mariposa. Leacock's title indicates the thickness of the satire beneath the idyllic surface. The sunshine is dappled by some oddly sinister shadows; the little town apes the city, and then how very little, how small and mean, its doings become. To see in how many directions the underlying satire extends, we must consider a fairly substantial passage.

There is a Whirlwind Campaign to pay off the church mortgage which is such a burden to old Dean Drone. Mullins, the banker who had seen one of these campaigns in the city, wrote out a cheque for a hundred dollars, conditional on the fund's reaching fifty thousand. There was a burst of cheers. Up sprang Duff, another banker, and wrote out a cheque for another hundred, conditional on the fund's reaching seventy thousand. And so it goes on. When Mullins stood up and announced that the conditional fund had reached a quarter of a million, the whole place was a perfect bable of cheering! But, though the committee held a luncheon every day, something went wrong; they never understood who of them were the whirlwind and who were to be the campaign. Mullins went to see the Dean: "He held in his coat pocket his own cheque for the hundred with the condition taken off it, and he said that there were so many skunks in Mariposa that a man might as well be in the Head Office in the city." That night the church burst into a totally consuming blaze. It is then discovered that by some error the insurance was for a hundred thousand, about twice the total of the cost, and the debt, and the rector's salary, and the boarding-school fees of the littlest of the Drones all put together. There was a strong suspicion of incendiarism on the part of friends unknown. But Judge Pepperleigh dismissed the protests of the insurance company in less than fifteen minutes. "In upholding the rights of a Christian congregation—I am quoting here the text of the decision—against the intrigues of a set of infernal skunks that make too much money anyhow, the Mariposa court is without an equal." The fun and frolic go on but Leacock's stiletto is busy underneath piercing hearts and livers with wicked precision. And yet, final ambiguity, how he loves the little town in the sunlight with all its memories of his youth!

Another Canadian humorist in whom satire and nostalgia blend without pain is Paul Hiebert (b. 1892), the author of a volume entitled *Sarah Binks* (1947). Hiebert has created Sarah, farm girl and poetess of the prairies, out of the whole cloth

of his wild imagination; he has composed all her poems and written a biography and a critique. She was, he says, the Sweet Songstress of Saskatchewan; she "captured in her net of poesy the flatness of that great province." Saskatchewan took her to its great flat bosom. Its premier, Augustus E. Windheaver, dedicated her monument in glowing words:

Come drought, come rust, come high tariff and high freight rates and high cost of binder twine, I still say to you as I have already said to the electors of Quagmire and Pelvis, that a Province that can produce a poet like your Sarah Binks under the type of government we have been having during the last four years, full of graft and maladministration and wasting the taxpayers' money, and what about the roads, I want to say that a Province that can produce such a poet may be down but it's never out.

The attack in all three books is on pretentiousness, on the self-regard that takes one's own position, responsibilities, and achievements too seriously. Haliburton's *Bluenoses* are a mixture of confident ignorance and blissful isolation. Sam Slick, with his fast, evasive pace, runs rings round them and makes them look in fresh directions. Yet at the same time he is a foil to the salutary side of their conservatism. Leacock pokes fun at the weighty self-regard and pompousness of the Little Town, its harmless pretensions and small-scale deceptions. Its "Mariposa Belle," nonpareil of excursion ships, sinks in a wild storm on the Lake—sinks quite frequently, in fact, but always on a sandy bottom in twelve feet of water and never very far from shore. Hiebert's solemn Saskatchewan has every facet of its economic and social values burnished to brilliance. Sarah is escorted to Regina, "The Athens of Saskatchewan"; she and Henry Welkin visit the opera, gaze with admiration at the rows of boxcars, repeatedly ride on Regina's streetcar.

The *Incomplete Anglers* (1943) of John Robins (1884-1952) offers a humour more relaxed than these and reflects life in a more level mirror. It abounds in situations naturally humorous, chiefly those that show the equipment (physical and mental) of

two campers suffering the abrasions of bush life. A serene glow suffuses Robins' pages and retains its charm through many a re-reading. The little *aperçus* slip in unobtrusively:

A normal animal must be content with four limbs; no such restriction is placed upon the branches of a tree. Possibly, when man has attained the trustworthiness of the tree, he may be allowed its freedom. . . . In the meantime, I can approach a solitary tree with pleasure, a cluster of trees with joy, and a forest with rapture; I must approach a solitary man with caution, a group of men with trepidation, and a nation of men with terror.

A good deal of the therapeutic quality of Robins' pages comes from their attempting simply to recount the story of a camping trip, with reflective asides, not to interpret the social scene. We are reminded of Thoreau's *A Week on the Concord*.

The balance between humour and satire swings over toward the former in Robins and decisively toward the latter in Robertson Davies (b. 1913). His reputation rests chiefly upon his writings for and about the stage, but in *Leaven of Malice* (1954) he takes time to plant a few knives between shoulder blades he dislikes. Some are small but sharp:

poor Rumball, toiling every spare minute of his time at what he was certain would be the great Canadian prose epic, *The Plain that Broke the Plough*.

Others have a wider blade:

Confronted with somebody whose mental hygiene appeared to be defective, he first asked himself, "How does this guy deviate from what's normal?" . . . If anybody asked him how he knew what was normal, he would smile his slow, boyish smile, and explain that he was pretty normal himself—just an ordinary guy, really—and he took that as his guide. He was tall and well-built, and if his eyes were small, they were kindly and bright.

The swing toward the satiric is also represented by Selwyn Dewdney's (b. 1909) *Wind without Rain* (1946). This beats with a hammer blow on the hypocrisies of professional educa-

tors and jacks-in-office. The hero, a schoolteacher, vacillates between the guidance of a teacher of science, Angus Macdonald, and the big-brotherly blandishments of Principal J. C. Bilbeau. Macdonald is exasperated into suicide; Bilbeau is exposed as an unscrupulous egotist, but his reign goes on. Organized education is a favorite target of criticism, polemical or satiric, for it is a prime interest of all middle-class societies and especially so in Canada, where privately endowed alternatives to the public systems are few and far between.

Canadian novelists, as we have seen, have great difficulty in communicating with their readers, and this difficulty increases in proportion as they seriously attempt to project an image of Canadian society, to characterize the corporate self of the people, to define its outlook. The critics, however, tell us that the arts may be looked upon both as communication and as expression, that the emphasis of criticism is likely to fall now on one, now on the other. It is an interesting hypothesis that Canadian poetry, from the very fact of its having a small audience, an audience which no Canadian poets have the power and few the inclination to expand, is freed from many problems of communication and can devote itself more successfully to unhindered expression. It does not follow that careless phrasing, incomprehensible images, chaotic jumbings, and wilful obscurity are by this circumstance excused. But the very fact that he is aiming at "fit audience though few" does liberate the contemporary poet into a refinement of language, a choice of imagery, a wealth of allusion, which he would not command were he aiming at the patronage of a cross-section of the community.

If contemporary poets are committed by their style, their imagery, and their allusions to a small audience, it is well to remind ourselves that this is something new. If we look very briefly at the history of Canadian poetry—that is, of Canadian poetry in English—seeking first for an early corpus of reputable

verse having some coherence within itself and some relation to the Canadian scene, we might well commence with three Victorians who were close contemporaries: Sir Charles G. D. Roberts (1860-1943), Archibald Lampman (1861-1899), and Duncan Campbell Scott (1862-1947).

The movement among them began with Roberts, whose *Orion and Other Poems* (1880) roused in Lampman, then a student, "the wildest excitement" and a determination "to be up and doing." Lampman, in turn, profoundly influenced Scott. Their tone, their outlook, their choice of subjects make them always the recognizable representatives of Victorianism, in its Canadian variant. A few short but self-contained quotations will do more than pages of comment to convey their joint and several qualities.

Here is Roberts, recording as an observer, a typical stance for the Canadian pastoral; the theme is also typical, the security of stored provision against the bitterness of winter.

*In an Old Barn*

Tons upon tons the brown-green fragrant hay  
O'er brims the mows beyond the time-warped eaves,  
Up to the rafters where the spider weaves,  
Though few flies wander his secluded way.  
Through a high chink one lonely golden ray,  
Wherein the dust is dancing, slants unstirred.  
In the dry hush some rustlings light are heard,  
Of winter-hidden mice at furtive play.

Far down, the cattle in their shadowed stalls,  
Nose-deep in clover fodder's meadowy scent,  
Forget the snows that whelm their pasture streams,  
The frost that bites the world beyond their walls.  
Warm housed, they dream of summer, well content  
In day-long contemplation of their dreams.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> In *Selected Poems of Sir Charles G. D. Roberts* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1936).

Lampman, also on the favourite theme of winter and also writing as an observer, catches some sense of the cheerful, vigorous struggle for survival which the climate of eastern Canada entails.

*A January Morning*

The glittering roofs are still with frost; each worn  
Black chimney builds into the quiet sky  
Its curling pile to crumble silently.  
Far out to westward on the edge of morn,  
The slender misty city towers up-borne  
Glimmer faint rose against the pallid blue;  
And yonder, on those northern hills, the hue  
Of amethyst, hang fleeces dull as horn.  
And here behind me come the woodmen's sleighs  
With shouts and clamorous squeakings; might and main  
Up the steep slope the horses stamp and strain,  
Urged on by hoarse-tongued drivers—cheeks ablaze,  
Iced beards and frozen eyelids—team by team,  
With frost-fringed flanks, and nostrils jetting steam.<sup>14</sup>

Scott, the last of our trio, worked in the department of Indian Affairs and many of his poems deal with wild people and wild places. Perhaps no other piece of his combines these to better effect with the grave, classically restrained, elegiac tone habitual to him, than the following:

*Night Hymns on Lake Nipigon*

Here in the midnight, where the dark mainland and island  
Shadows mingle in shadow deeper, profounder,  
Sing we the hymns of the churches, while the dead water  
Whispers before us.

Thunder is travelling slow on the path of the lightning;  
One after one the stars and the beaming planets  
Look serene in the lake from the edge of the storm-cloud,  
Then have they vanished.

<sup>14</sup> In *Selected Poems of Archibald Lampman* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947).

While our canoe, that floats dumb in the bursting thunder,  
Gathers her voice in the quiet and thrills and whispers,  
Presses her prow in the star-gleam, and all her ripple  
Lapses in blackness.

Sing we the sacred ancient hymns of the churches,  
Chanted first in old-world nooks of the desert,  
While in the wild, pellucid Nipigon reaches  
Hunted the savage.

Now have the ages met in the Northern midnight,  
And on the lonely, loon-haunted Nipigon reaches  
Rises the hymn of triumph and courage and comfort,  
Adeste Fideles.

Tones that were fashioned when the faith brooded in darkness,  
Joined with sonorous vowels in the noble Latin,  
Now are married with the long-drawn Ojibwa,  
Uncouth and mournful.

Soft with the silver drip of the regular paddles  
Falling rhythm, timed with the liquid, plangent  
Sounds from the blades where the whirlpools break and are carried  
Down into darkness;

Each long cadence, flying like a dove from her shelter  
Deep in the shadow, wheels for a throbbing moment,  
Poises in utterance, returning in circles of silver  
To nest in the silence.

All wild nature stirs with the infinite, tender  
Plaint of a bygone age whose soul is eternal,  
Bound in the lonely phrases that thrill and falter  
Back into quiet.

Back they falter as the deep storm overtakes them,  
Whelms them in splendid hollows of booming thunder,



Wraps them in rain, that, sweeping, breaks and onrushes  
Ringing like cymbals.<sup>15</sup>

These brief, self-contained quotations do not, of course, give the full variety and richness of the group, but they fairly represent the common ground its members occupy, their solid concern with landscape, with observation and reflection within the bounds of Victorian sensibility, and their possession of qualities certain to appeal to a relatively large reading public. Their names and that of Bliss Carman (1861-1929) became household words in many parts of Canada, which is more than can be said for any subsequent group.

The link between older and newer generations of poets is E. J. ("Ned") Pratt (b. 1883). He is a Newfoundlander with a background of iron coasts and stormy Atlantic seas. His constant theme is that of gigantic struggle. He writes of ships (*The Roosevelt and the Antinoe* and *The Titanic*); great beasts ("The Cachalot"); martyrs (*Brébeuf and His Brethren*); and warfare at sea (*Behind the Log*). He is by common consent the most eminent living Canadian poet, perhaps the most eminent of our history. A maze of paradoxes surrounds his poetic personality from the midst of which his personal character shines out with a simple, heart-warming singleness. In his work we find revealed a combination of verbal force and liberal mildness; he revels in the common touch, the familiar manner that brings himself, his subject, and his reader close together, yet in all his best passages there is a withdrawal, more than a hint of remoteness, of an occupation with powers not seen. His spiritual habitat has been for decades Victoria College, of originally Methodist foundation, but the chosen subject of his most impressive poem is the martyrdom of Catholic missionaries. Finally there is the paradox of Pratt's great reputation and his lack of influence upon the oncoming generation of writers. One is strongly reminded of the remarks made by D. H. Lawrence about Walt Whitman, whom he greatly admired:

<sup>15</sup> In *Selected Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1951).

Whitman, the great poet, has meant so much to me. Whitman, the one man breaking a way ahead. . . . Ahead of Whitman, nothing. Ahead of all poets, pioneering into the wilderness of unopened life, Whitman. Beyond him, none. His wide, strange camp at the end of the great high-road. And lots of new little poets camping on Whitman's camping ground now. But none going really beyond. Because Whitman's camp is at the end of the road, and on the edge of a great precipice. Over the precipice, blue distance, and the blue hollow of the future.<sup>16</sup>

Pratt's largeness of scale makes it difficult to illustrate him adequately without voluminous quotation. The following lines, from near the beginning of *Brébeuf and His Brethren*, will at least give a sense of the texture of Pratt's verse:

The story of the frontier like a saga  
Sang through the cells and cloisters of the nation,  
Made silver flutes out of the parish spires,  
Troubled the ashes of the canonized  
In the cathedral crypts, soared through the nave  
To stir the foliations on the columns,  
Roll through the belfries, and give deeper tongue  
To the *Magnificat* in Notre Dame.  
It brought to earth the prophets and apostles  
Out of their static shrines in the stained glass.  
It caught the ear of Christ, reveined his hands  
And feet, bidding his marble saints to leave  
Their pedestals for chartless seas and coasts  
And the vast blunders of the forest glooms.  
So, in the footsteps of their patrons came  
A group of men asking the hardest tasks  
At the new outposts of the Huron bounds  
Held in the stern hand of the Jesuit Order.<sup>17</sup>

About the younger generation of contemporary poets it is possible to generalize with some confidence, for they show re-

<sup>16</sup> "Studies in Classic American Literature" in *The Shock of Recognition*, ed. by Edmund Wilson (New York, 1943), p. 1070.

<sup>17</sup> E. J. Pratt, *Brébeuf and His Brethren* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1940).

markable group characteristics. There is a large group whose birth dates fall between 1900 and 1918 and who are notable for sustained excellence of craftsmanship. They are chiefly influenced by English and a few French models; they are intense, thoughtful, the reverse of naïve; many are attached to colleges or universities; they write poetry in their spare time, and thus the short lyric or brief descriptive piece predominates. Their work has never been carefully studied as a corpus. They appear to be influenced by T. S. Eliot, W. H. Auden, Stephen Spender, Dylan Thomas, and by French symbolists, and it is quite possible that such Americans as Wallace Stevens, William Carlos Williams, Randall Jarrell, Robert Lowell, and Theodore Roethke have contributed elements to their style. For the most part, because they are fulfilling and expressing their subjective selves, they have escaped the perils of the serious writers of fiction who feel so great a need to define and interpret the Canadian scene; the poets are free to build up worlds of sound, of connotation, of related images. The significant thing about them is that they do not write works, but pieces, and their profundities occur as overtones. They create, they are without question "makers"; they shape language, manage images, they achieve mastery over their materials, they embody their visionary thought. They do not set out to interpret life on a comprehensive plan. If, as Mill said, poems are not to be heard so much as to be overheard, these poets are worth overhearing. They do not especially address themselves to any audience but they commune with themselves in a manner worth our stopping to attend to. Fortunately many of their best poems are succinct in the extreme; in the compass of a few lines it is really possible to illustrate their qualities of thought and technique.

Before we attempt to do so, two paradoxes of recent criticism may for a moment claim our attention. Once more the mixed values on which our judgements are founded lie at the root of the uncertainty. It is argued that contemporary poetry is dwarfed by the contemporary novel, that the poets are derivative, while the novelists reach for and encompass new fields.

Whether such claims are true depends on the relative values placed on formal excellence and on ambitious content. If the novelists are to be judged on their willingness to explore a changing society and to discover a relation between the struggle of the total social organism to progress and the struggle of the individual to survive, then, without question, they bear away the palm (supposing palms to survive in such a society). But if the poets are judged on how closely they achieve what they set out to do, on the solidity and symmetry of their technical achievement, there is not much doubt that the best half-dozen of them far surpass the novelists. It is a nice question; it ends by turning back on the questioner, who had better watch his own stance and see that it is not on some small ridge of academic conservatism or, worse, on the dune-slope of popular demands. The present writer is of the opinion that the poets will survive, as Marvell, Vaughan, and even Herrick survived the religious analysts of their day and age.

A second question is whether contemporary post-Eliot poetry in Canada is an advance from the tradition of Roberts, Scott, and Lampman or a loss of direction and dereliction of values. The latter view is emphatically taken by the occasional older critic. Something certainly was lost when the hairpin bend was turned into the road that leads through the Waste Land and on to Milk Wood. What it was can be judged not so easily from Pratt—who is too great and too individual to slip into categories—as from such a collection as the delightful *Songs of the Great Dominion*. My own copy (secondhand) was a Christmas present for Emily with Mama's love in 1892 and is enriched with pressed specimens of the eastern maple leaf and with pasted-in poems, reviews, and some engaging pictures of tobogganists and snowshoers. It forms a simple, stable, and satisfactory amalgam of artistic and external interests. As the editor says, concerning his choice of poets:

The poets whose songs fill this book are voices cheerful with the consciousness of young might, public wealth, and heroism. Through them taken all together, you may catch something of great Niagara

falling, of brown rivers rushing with foam, of the crack of the rifle in the haunts of the moose and caribou, the lament of vanishing races singing their death-song as they are swept on to the cataract of oblivion, the rural sounds of Arcadias just rescued from surrounding wildernesses by the axe, shrill war-whoops of Iroquois battle, proud traditions of contests with the French and the Americans, stern and sorrowful cries of valour rising to curb rebellion. The tone of them is *courage*. . . .

Although the collection designedly confines itself to illustrating the country and its activities objectively so that "the subjective and unlocal literature must be necessarily passed over, entraining the omission of most of the poems whose merit lies in perfection of finish," the standard authors of the time are largely included: besides Roberts, Lampman, D. C. Scott and Carman, we find poems by Charles Sangster (1822-1893), Thomas D'Arcy M'Gee (1825-1868), Isabella Crawford (1850-1887), Charles Heavyside (1816-1876), Mrs. Susanna Moodie (1803-1885), Charles Mair (1838-1927), W. W. Campbell (1861-1918), Pauline Johnson (1861-1913), and many others of less note. The tone is consistently robust, touched with moral fervour and relieved by elegiac lament.

Among the minor and retarded results of that reappraisal which the English Victorians have been undergoing will be a revaluation of the Queen's Canadian subjects and their poetic achievement. They were derivative and undistinguished; they had not the knack of creating images (except from simple observation) or new rhythms and phrasings. But, applying once more the double standard we have so carefully dragged through our pages to this point, we may concede that they represented (in both senses of the word) a more articulate, more unified, and in many ways more satisfactory culture than our own. Its poets are represented as approaching the doors of a castle of the arts:

"Crowns have been won and worn by others. Admit us."

"Nay; ye claim too largely. Whose sons be ye, and whose daughters?"

"We be sons and daughters of fathers who were never cowards, and of mothers who were never ashamed; who loved valour and virtue even as their children love music."

To return to our group of poets whose dates of birth fall pretty well between the beginning of the century and the end of World War I and who are therefore all of a generation. There are some who work the unexhausted vein of some great and recognized tradition with which it is to their honour that we can associate them. Louis MacKay (b. 1901), a classical scholar and an authority on Homer, conveys in his verse—be it satiric, elegiac, or lyric—not only the apt selection of traditional images one would expect but a cry of anger or a note of resignation which are inescapably personal. The best of his small group of poems have great durability of substance and finish.

In Abraham Klein (b. 1909) we hear the incorruptible voice of a still older tradition. He is a Jew, and his sensibility is saturated with the sweet oil of orthodoxy. His later poems depict Montreal, his own city, in its French-Canadian aspects, for as a Jew he has a fellow-feeling for members of this other minority. But his earlier, and to some readers his best, verses are purely Hebraic, yet with all the freshness of an immediately contemporary mind. Klein's range includes moods of rage against tyranny, frustration at injustice, solicitousness over the suffering of the dispossessed, and shrewd appraisal of a mundane world. But the centre from which all radiates is the love of one tradition.

As intense as Klein's and wholly individual and independent of identifiable influences is the work of Margaret Avison (b. 1918). Hers is a revelation of intense struggle and unrelenting pressures, which the granite firmness of her verse triumphantly sustains. As we read the Avison poems, with their cry of anguish, of recognition, or of reconciliation, it is of Christina Rossetti, Emily Dickinson, or, more likely, of Emily Brontë that we think. Miss Avison has scattered her published poems in periodicals and has probably more first-class pieces in manuscripts than have

ever seen print. It is to be hoped that she will give us a volume in which her work to the present time can compendiously be viewed.

Easier to relate to the post-Auden world of imagery and attitude is Patricia Page (b. 1917), the wife of W. A. Irwin, of the Department of External Affairs. Her early work was in association with F. R. Scott and others in Montreal. The social and political overtones of these early poems, somewhat strained and although palpably sincere not altogether the product of a unified sensibility, have given place in more recent years to a maturely organized set of themes. In such an early poem as "Isolationist" we recognize the Auden-like images which were once so apposite.

Her later poems leave this kind of clever marqueterie and move into a world of images which reveal the harmony of dreams in the midst of an apparent preoccupation with the discordant detail of ordinary life. The visual effects are precise, the implications multiple. The subject-matter is often as not of no seeming importance; the mood, stabilized by the vividness of the images but swept along by the dream impetus, is everything.

Within the group under discussion there is a strain of learned and highly cultivated verse, chiefly the product of writers who are academics by profession. They have developed a scrupulousness of phrasing which is, indeed, their chief merit, permitting as it does the transfer of complex and rare states of mind into verbal being. Among these is Robert Finch (b. 1900), whose long residence in France and practice of the arts of music and painting have conduced to a wide and sensitive vocabulary. His poems, even when their subject matter is slight or playful, never lack distinction.

She enjoys entertaining at home too  
When she is not being entertained abroad.  
In the picture she reads the Winepress of the Lord  
By the Steinway as she waits for guests, and do  
Note the recent sculpture above her head.  
She adores having friends come in for dinner,

Artists, musicians, writers, and they adore in her

The fact that she always knows what should be said. . . .

Finch's deeper note is one of resolute and resolved grief, so controlled as to shadow even its own depth.

Searching was half the world while searching lasted,  
Finding was all the world created new,  
Losing was hardest to believe come true,  
But search, find, loss, not one of them is wasted

That shed this timeless moonlit week on week  
In an uncumulative series. Frost  
Could not quietlier gild and geld the fall.<sup>18</sup>

Ralph Gustafson (b. 1909) deserves mention not only for his craftsmanship in verse but also for his services to Canadian literature as an editor and reviewer. He now lives in New York. His *Epithalamium in Time of War* has a timeless freshness to its statement of theme:

Now is the time in valiant days  
When break we from the warring heart's  
Huge anger. Across the watery ways,  
The quadrant of the globe's quick girth—  
Though guns in monstrous utterance phrase  
Their grim denials—summer starts,  
March bursts the answering hawthorn-sprays,  
The crocus green from English earth,  
Gladdened are simple birds who sing  
Remembered joy, tomorrow's mirth,  
And all that gentle love shall bring.<sup>19</sup>

One of the younger members of the group under discussion is Douglas Le Pan (b. 1914). In him a Canadian sensibility and set of values reveals itself in poetry thick with images of the European tradition; his finesse shows his fruitful acquaintance

<sup>18</sup> Both poems are from Robert Finch, *Poems* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946).

<sup>19</sup> New York: Priv. printed, 1941.



with English post-Eliot techniques, his optimism will seem to most readers trans-Atlantic and to American readers trans-Laurentian. His war service in Italy and his work in the diplomatic service have broadened his vision and given his ideas a catholicity of reference. He is one of the small number whose new output is awaited with eagerness, read with avidity. His portrait of a young soldier, "One of the Regiment," succeeds in projecting that most difficult and desirable of all images for the Canadian writer—a national and representative figure:

In this air  
Breathed once by artist and condottier,  
Where every gesture of proud men was nourished,  
Where the sun described heroic virtue and flourished  
Round it trumpet-like, where the face of nature  
Was chiselled by bright centuries hard as sculpture;  
His face on this clear air and arrogant scene,  
Decisive and impenetrable, is Florentine. . . .

Do not enquire  
What he has seen engrained in stillest fire  
Or what he purposes. It will be well,  
We who have shared his exile can trumpet-tell  
That underneath his wild and frowning style  
Such eagerness has burned as could not smile  
From coats of lilies or emblazoned roses.  
No greater excellence the sun encloses.<sup>20</sup>

Among these learned and conscious craftsmen of the art, two or three are distinguished by the influence they have brought to bear on others. Notable for this capacity are Frank R. Scott (b. 1899), A. J. M. Smith (b. 1902), and Patrick Anderson (b. 1915).

Scott's distinction resides in the *élan* he brings to the humblest creative task, his devotion to ideals of civil liberty and public

<sup>20</sup> In *The Net and the Sword* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1953).

service, his incisiveness, and his wit. The degree to which his personality invades his work is from the purist's point of view perhaps excessive; his poems are more extensions of his active mind into the minds of others, than independent entities. But none who know him through his poems would wish it otherwise.

And if I ask, you shall bring me water.  
It will be cold, first, as it comes clear  
Out of a granite pool in the northland,  
Single as metal, and as metal, clean.

But this will not suffice.  
This is escape water. . . .

Go now and find the water that men wait  
With thirsty cattle under a blazing sun  
While earth cracks  
And thin streams run dry,  
The precious, prayed-for and uncertain water . . .  
Or bring the sister water warm and green,  
Reeking with life and fetid from the swamp. . . .  
Tribal water, controlling water,  
Charged full of politics and power and race.

Here now is challenge water. I am free.  
Here is a glass of liquid for the hand  
A man may drink his fill of and be well.<sup>21</sup>

Scott's academic and political activities have been of great benefit to his fellow poets and have supplied his friends with potent ideas and precise principles. He has more directly assisted poetry by twenty years of committee work, ranging from his part in the publication of *New Provinces* in 1936, an anthology of socially conscious verse, to his leadership in the writers' conference at Kingston in 1955, which, aided by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, accomplished the difficult task of bringing to-

<sup>21</sup> "Water," in *Events and Signals* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954).

gether English-speaking writers, editors, and the like from all parts of the country.

A. J. M. Smith was, like Scott, a member of the Montreal group, but his contribution to the contemporary stimulus of poetry has been of a different kind. If he has not written poems precisely for the purpose of showing others how to write, the effect of his small and thrice-winnowed production, accompanied by definition, direction, and exhortation, has been to make him an exemplar. His shining merit lies in the extreme scrupulousness of technique and in his unabashed contention that poetry is a difficult and unpopular art which nevertheless dowers the initiate with a secret glory of comprehension. His small lyre has an unexpected range of tones. He can render the secret of a northern landscape in simple phrases:

This is a beauty  
of dissonance,  
this resonance  
of stony strand,  
this smoky cry  
curled over a black pine  
like a broken  
and wind-battered branch  
when the wind  
bends the tops of the pines  
and curdles the sky  
from the north.<sup>22</sup>

Or, equally, he can catch the air of Yeats's Ireland in a memorial verse to that master:

Over the edge of shivering Europe,  
Over the chalk front of Kent, over Eire,  
Dwarfing the crawling waves' amoral savagery,

<sup>22</sup> "The Lonely Land," in *A Sort of Ecstasy* (Toronto, 1943); permission to quote granted by Ryerson Press and Michigan State University Press.

Daring the hiding clouds' rhetorical tumult,  
The white swan plummets the mountain top.<sup>23</sup>

Patrick Anderson, though born and educated in England and at present living there, regards himself as a Canadian national. As a member of the Montreal group, he contributed to their magazine *Preview* both poems and policy. His manner (a coruscation of Audenesque images) and his matter (social protest and interpretation) had an immediate influence. He wrote as though sure of himself, his craft, and his message, and he inspired confidence in his friends.

Religious comrades, pious answerers  
of need with need till all is wrapped in joy,  
geographers that in a world of storms  
bend land to land and bonny in a bay  
that the long home-sick sea of mariners  
may dance the time away  
in soft sweet air alive with metaphors.<sup>24</sup>

The existence of certain groupings and filiations among the poets should not give us the impression that they are neatly packaged and bundled. On the contrary, they display, within the natural likeness of members of the same generation, a variety of differentiations that illustrate not only differences of temperament but also regional, occupational, and racial differences in the country.

Wilfred Watson (b. 1911) hails from the Pacific littoral, from Vancouver Island, and his verse, for all its elaborate and far-reaching tissue of reference, betrays the imagery of his early surroundings and the immediate accessibility to English influence which was so common there half a generation ago. Deeply influenced by Dylan Thomas, he has digested what Thomas had

<sup>23</sup> "Ode on the Death of W. B. Yeats," in *ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Patrick Anderson, "Lovers," in *The White Centre* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1946).

to teach him; the swinging rhythms and long climaxes of his rhetoric make him, however, just as difficult to quote briefly and effectively. He is preoccupied with love, with age and death, with the impulses of sin and salvation and the residual images of orthodoxy reused to fresh effect.

Alfred G. Bailey (b. 1905), whose family roots go deep into Quebec and Maritime history, writes with a full consciousness of the storied eastern landscape. Images from his studies of mythology and anthropology give depth to his conceptions but the scholarly care is made to serve a reticent emotion and an integrity of thought that are the product of an inherited and deeply felt culture.

James Wreford (whose *nom de plume* omits his surname of Watson; b. 1915) and Miriam Waddington (b. 1917) execute variations, of a fine individual modulation, on the theme of social and individual love.

An enigma with tragic ingredients is presented by the work of Raymond Knister (1900-1932), whose life was cut short by accidental drowning. Knister worked on Ontario farms. He is almost unique in the sense he conveys of being a participant in farm life, not an observer. What Knister would have done with the techniques of American prose realism and with the exact, tactile imagery he had developed for his poems we do not know. Two experimental novels, a few stories and verses do not give enough to extrapolate upon. What he has left that is of use to our tradition is the memory, cherished among writers who knew him, of immense personal integrity.

The remaining three writers of this group, born between 1900 and the end of World War I, have in common a lively interest in the social order (and social disorder), a style in which the urgency of the spoken voice can be heard, and a deep affinity with the land- or sea-scape of the west.

Anne Marriott (b. 1913) is chiefly noted for her sharp, instantaneous evocations of prairie life amid drought and depression:

Poverty, hand in hand with fear, two great  
Shrill-jointed skeletons stride loudly out  
Across the pitiful fields, none to oppose.  
Courage is roped with hunger, chained with doubt.  
Only against the yellow sky, a part  
Of the jetty silhouette of barn and house  
Two figures stand, heads close, arms locked,  
And suddenly some spirit seems to rouse  
And gleam, like a thin sword, tarnished, bent,  
But still shining in the spared beauty of moon. . . .<sup>25</sup>

Dorothy Livesay (b. 1909) has for some three decades been producing verse that insists on recognition. Her style, like her themes, has undergone an evolutionary change, but her love of beauty in man and nature, her hatred of stupidity and injustice, these have remained constant. Constant too is an upspringing emotion and a consonant rhythm of words which give to her simplest work its peculiar cachet.

At such a moment, such a day  
Her head was lifted suddenly  
Her ears believed, her heart heard  
The sky's hallooing honking word.  
Here, in this wasting winter geese,  
Briefly for feeding came to rest. . . .  
And following their arrowed alphabet  
Straining to see their jet-  
Propulsion through the unstained sky  
She felt her feet untried  
Her winter thongs unpried.  
She was a moving miracle of wing and sound  
No one home hers, but all homes to be found.<sup>26</sup>

Earle Birney (b. 1904), while partaking of the characteristics which mark his poetic generation as a whole and, in particular,

<sup>25</sup> "The Wind Our Enemy," in *Sandstone and Other Poems* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1939).

<sup>26</sup> "Poems of Childhood," in *Poems for People* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947).

the socially conscious group within it, displays in addition certain personal qualities which distinguish him. He is deliberately and successfully didactic in the wide and untechnical sense of the word; poems of social interpretation and protest, poems dealing with the fields and vectors of force within the body of society, poems grappling with human destiny itself—these have always furnished a high proportion of his output. He is at his best when the political or social message is lifted to a plane from which vistas of history extend above the immediate controversy, for example, in *The Strait of Anian* he finds symbolic meanings in the rumoured and sought-for passage by water leading from the Strait of Juan de Fuca through the land-mass of America back to the Atlantic:

Here Spaniards and Vancouver's boatmen scrawled  
the problem that is ours and yours,  
that there is no clear Strait of Anian  
to lead us easy back to Europe,  
that men are isled in ocean or in ice  
and only joined by long endeavour to be joined.  
Come then on the waves of desire that well forever  
and think no more than you must  
of the simple unhuman truth of this emptiness,  
that down deep below the lowest pulsing of primal cell  
tar-dark and still  
lie the bleak and forever capacious tombs of the sea.<sup>27</sup>

Such wide vistas are not uncommon in Birney's work. His "North Star West" is a panoramic sweep across the country from Montreal to Vancouver as experienced in a TCA plane: the journey ends, "Yet for a space we held in our morning's hand the welling and wildness of Canada, the fling of a nation. . . ."

It is impossible to consider the poems—with their wealth of lyrical, descriptive, and didactic elements—without remembering that their author has also produced a radio verse-drama, *Trial of a City*. Here a richly assorted dramatis personae debate the

<sup>27</sup> In *The Strait of Anian* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1948).

past and future of the city of Vancouver—among them an Indian chief, an early settler, a lawyer, Captain Vancouver, a modern housewife, and the author of *Piers Plowman*. Fine passages are liberally distributed throughout the play, especially those that describe, from the mouth of the Salish chief, the early ways and natural happiness of the natives of the Pacific shores. The degeneration of the contemporary scene is put by Langland:

Down in pale alerooms democrats dawdled,  
mazed dark in movies or dreamed on the corners  
while wardheelers rode to polls to wangle the taxes,  
to money-change the Council and amend Magna Charta,  
and fat lawyers grappled in long lovers' clinches.

The housewife asserts the goodness of life as experienced in her own being:

For all mankind is matted so within me  
Despair can find no earthroom tall to grow;  
My veins run warm however veers time's weather;  
I breathe Perhaps and May and never No.  
Under the cool geyser of the dogwood  
Time lets me open books and live;  
Under the glittering comment of the planets  
Life asks, and I am made to give.<sup>28</sup>

Birney's poems also demand some concomitant reading of his two prose works, *Turvey* (1949) and *Down the Long Table* (1955). The former is a seriocomic war novel along the general lines of Jaroslav Hasek's *The Good Soldier Schweik*. Birney's little soldier, however, reverses Schweik's malingerer reluctance by a cheerful eagerness to get to the theatre of war and the actual front. His misadventures, managed along picaresque lines, supply abundant fun and games; the satire upon army snafu is never morbid but always mordant; the side lights upon Canadian character are brilliant and display Birney's capacity for fresh crea-

<sup>28</sup> Both extracts are from *Trial of a City* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1952).



tion. *Turvey* does not escape the customary Canadian drawback of excessive detail, but this is inseparable, as has been shown, from any thoroughgoing attempt to reveal our mores. Hasek could assume that his readers would be familiar with the immemorial conditions of life in the ranks of a European army, which persisted in large measure into the 1914-1918 conflict. Birney can make no such assumption about the Canadian army of 1939-1945.

*Down the Long Table* (1955), Birney's most ambitious work to date, returns to his political preoccupation and puts the case that the individual whose past, examined in the limelight of a pseudo-judicial inquiry, reveals elements that arouse suspicion, may indeed owe these very elements to a keener social conscience than the rest of us have and a readier response to ideas that challenge the humanist to take action.

Birney has been accused of a certain sentimentality in the working out of his solutions, and there is some truth in this charge. He has also, in such a key work as *Trial of a City*, shown an incomplete ability to clinch the strands of his argument into a resolved close. But it is significant that precisely these difficulties occur in Callaghan and MacLennan. The Canadian condition, faithfully represented, does not conduce to heroic or tragic finality, to the resounding ultimate chord. Once more the relevance of the criteria of judgement to the actual task in hand must be insisted on.

Birney's strength lies in the courage and pertinacity with which he tackles his subjects and the magnitude and timeliness of the issues against which he pits his skills. It is notable that when his thoughts lift to a cosmic level he can at times achieve a classic finality, as in "Vancouver Lights," a poem projecting a vision of infinity from a finite and ascertained standpoint:

This must we say,  
whoever may be to hear us, if murk devour,  
and none weave again in gossamer:

These rays were ours,

we made and unmade them. Not the shudder of continents  
doused us, the moon's passion, nor crash of comets.<sup>20</sup>

Louis Dudek (b. 1918) may conveniently be considered with Raymond Souster (b. 1921) and Irving Layton (b. 1912). Dudek's latest and most ambitious work, *Europe*, is a travelogue reviewing the ancient continent through North American eyes; there are flashes of fresh perception, though the whole lacks the intensity of a vision. Souster is filled with a fine rage against fools in general and academic fools in particular. No brief quotation can convey his astonished grief, his cries of frustration, and murmurs of blank sadness. A kind of desperate honesty prevents him from concealment, check, or revision of his immediate utterances, for life is cruel and pain is urgent.

To the common qualities of Dudek and Souster, Layton adds images from a private world and persuasive powers of self-justification. The least that can be said for these three is that in their company there is never a dull moment and that their claim to be a main guard as well as an advance-guard will have to be examined. Layton's claim, indeed, may be regarded as already established. His vigour and fecundity are making him the most exciting of contemporary Canadian poets, one of the few whose new work is anticipated with an eagerness to see in what direction it will develop.

James Reaney (b. 1926) has chosen as the breeding place of dreams and images and changing rhythms the world of childhood. His vision shows the distortions of the innocent and appalled mind among cosmic symbols, special enchantments of sacred objects, and the background mutter of the exploding world.

The only leaf upon its tree of blood,  
My red heart hangs heavily. . . .  
So does the sun hang now  
From a branch of Time

<sup>20</sup> In *Now Is Time* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1945).

In this wild fall sunset. . . .  
 What midwife shall deliver  
 The Sun's great heir? <sup>30</sup>

Jay Macpherson (b. 1931) has a genius guiding her selection of classical images and their combination with strictest economy into unimprovable forms:

He leads the Unicorn to plough,  
 At evening brings him home to rest:  
 The eternal Phoenix on his arm  
 Roosts, rustling the warm feathers of her breast.<sup>31</sup>

A dozen other poets deserve discussion which space does not permit. Whoever is interested in Canadian poetry, however, will find it represented in such anthologies and periodicals as are listed in the concluding pages of this essay.

To any review of Canadian writing such as we have attempted, there is an *arrière pensée* which comes with increasing insistence. The traditional French and English branches of our literature require the addition of a third classification—that of Jewish-Canadian writing. With the appearance of young and vigorous authors whose works assume this distinctive grouping, it is possible to set such figures as Henry Kreisel and Abraham Klein, already discussed, in a new perspective.

Klein's highly imaginative novel, *The Second Scroll* (1951), a good fraction of which is in verse and which has been customarily regarded as an extension of Klein's poetry, takes on a new significance. As its name implies and as its internal structure confirms, the book is a restatement of the Torah, a recapitulation of the problems and promises attending the destiny of Israel. The simple plot of a nephew's journey from Canada to seek an uncle

<sup>30</sup> "The Red Heart," in *The Red Heart* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1949).

<sup>31</sup> "The Day Labourer," in *O Earth Return* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1954).

lost in Europe of the war years is superscribed with an intense and expanding statement of religious faith and grief and astonishment, rising through many fears to final assurance. To an incandescent honesty of purpose Klein adds an accomplished and highly individual style. Compared with those who follow, he deals with religious issues in an almost patriarchal fashion of knowledge and authority.

Mordecai Richler (b. 1931) exhibits in his *Son of a Smaller Hero* (1955) much the same preoccupations of spirit, but confines himself to the drama of a Jewish community in which three male generations of a Montreal family work out their conflicts and seek to resolve loyalty to faith and longings for freedom.

Henry Kreisel's *The Rich Man* (1948), already mentioned in connection with Canadian novels of the war, should again be noted as a novel of the Jewish family, its characteristic griefs, perplexities, and illuminations.

A newcomer to this field is Adele Wiseman (b. 1928), whose first novel, *The Sacrifice* (1956), has unexpected variety of tone and maturity of style. It deals with the familiar relationships within a Jewish community, this time in western Canada. The theme is given depth by vistas into the European past—memories of Cossack brutality and organized pogroms in the Ukraine. The affairs of Jewish community life acquire dignity by association with cosmopolitan life and immemorial issues.

Among the poets already mentioned in the preceding pages, Irving Layton most decisively asks for recognition in the Jewish-Canadian frame of reference. He is more concerned with the experiences of the freely moving individual than with the webs of domestic and tribal relationships which concern the novelists, and his poems—most of which are brief and designedly casual in tone—do not easily produce, in mosaic, a large design. But of his consciously Hebrew sensibility there can be no question. His lines "On Seeing the Statuettes of Ezekiel and Jeremiah in the Church of Notre Dame" proffer to the two prophets who stand

uneasily captive in an alien church the fellow-feeling of his own "hot Hebrew heart."

A younger poet in the same group is Leonard Cohen (b. 1934). In his *Let Us Compare Mythologies* (1956) Christian and Hebrew concepts neighbour one another in poems of vivid and intense phrasing.

Within the general search for self-identification which forms the theme of the preceding pages, and which we have seen to be the hall-mark of Canadian literature, this special focus of self-consciousness represents a fanning into flame of the collective Hebrew mind by the great winds of world persecution and of world-wide hope inspired by faith. Whether on the plane of national aspiration or of communal Jewish life in large cities; whether in the context of the family and the tribal nexus or in the individualized images of life in the minds of the Jewish poets, the dominant themes reveal themselves. Oppositions of constraint and freedom, loyalty and rebellion, faith and scepticism, seek a resolution. Evils, sorrows, and exasperations suffuse society; struggle and sacrifice are inescapable; in the end gestures of reconciliation are not in vain, restoration and redemption not quite illusory. All this we find expressed—whether in verse or in prose—with a skill that never fails to command attention and rises at moments to the height of prophetic utterance.

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SMITH, A. J. M.

*News of the Phoenix and Other Poems.* 1943.

*A Sort of Ecstasy.* 1954.

SOUSTER, RAYMOND

*Go to Sleep, World.* 1947.

WADDINGTON, MIRIAM

*The Second Silence.* 1955.

[WATSON,] JAMES WREFORD

*Of Time and the Lover.* 1950.

WATSON, WILFRED

*Friday's Child.* 1955.

WILSON, ETHEL

*The Equations of Love.* 1952.

*Hetty Dorval.* 1947.

*The Innocent Traveller.* 1949.

*Swamp Angel.* 1954.

*Love and Salt Water.* 1956.

WISEMAN, ADELE

*The Sacrifice.* 1956.

NOTE. Copyright restrictions have made it impossible to use many illustrative passages in this essay.

## *II. The Press*

The press is an active agency in Canadian society. In 1956 the population of sixteen millions was served by ninety daily newspapers with a circulation of about four million daily. Nearly a thousand community weeklies were in existence, with an aggregate circulation of about a million copies. The farm press reported a circulation of two million. Business, trade, professional, and clerical publications added another million and a half. The "mass" popular magazines printed an aggregate of about three million copies per issue.

The press in Canada, which began as a feeble frontier institution, is barely two centuries old. Its origins were partly European, partly American. The newspaper and magazine were already well-developed institutions elsewhere when the first pioneer sheets were taken off the press in British North America; in this sense they were cultural transplants from London, Paris, and Boston. Like all other social agencies and institutions, they were influenced by their origins and moulded by their new environment. On the whole, the press of Canada today is much more North American than it is British or French, though the European heritage is everywhere apparent.

The modern Canadian daily newspaper is such a colossal advance in almost every respect over the pioneer weekly gazettes printed at Halifax, Quebec, Montreal, Niagara-on-the-Lake (Newark), St. John, and Charlottetown, that the supposition of a series of revolutionary changes is required to make the transformation credible. History confirms such inferences.

Nearly all of the pioneer newspapers of British North America were first published so as to disseminate official proclamations, statutes, and regulations among the colonists and settlers. The publishers were commonly official printers for the Crown, and the chief source of revenue was the patronage of the state. Local news items and advertisements were at first an incidental service. The chief access to news of the outside world was through per-

sonal letters from other centres or copies of some foreign journals; both were likely to be somewhat stale after slow travel by sailing vessel, courier or stagecoach. Since the editor was virtually a servant of the ruling oligarchy of the colony, no criticism or adverse comment on the government's policies and transactions was to be expected. The voice of the people was not likely to be heard unless it was a favourable voice. Occasionally some intrepid or foolhardy editor or correspondent ventured to complain, protest, or condemn, but the governing bodies were under no obligation to tolerate such insubordination, and some offences were punished with great severity.

Before such obsequious, utilitarian weekly sheets as the early gazettes could blossom out into the modern free daily—large, bright, well illustrated, garnering news from the ends of the earth, filled with display and classified advertising, at liberty to publish anything within the legal boundaries of sedition, obscenity, and libel—many changes of a radical nature, both in Canada and in the rest of the world, had to occur.

These transformations have been witnessed in many other countries: they are not unique in Canada and thus may be summarized in a paragraph. The press became free of government when it found a means of subsisting off commercial revenue without state subsidy. It became politically important when the editor and his readers won their political liberty. Its parochial isolation gradually ended with the world revolution in transportation and communication. Mass circulations became possible with the invention of the steam press and the discovery of a method of making paper from wood instead of rags. Later inventions accelerated progress. The slow process of setting type by hand was superseded by the linotype. The flat-bed press gave way to the rotary. Transmission of pictures by wire and wireless was a logical consequence of the transmission of words by such devices. The collection of world news became a great industry. Individual newspapers pooled their facilities and greatly in-

creased the range and quantity of their national and international news service.

The daily newspaper of Canada today is much closer in appearance, content, make-up, and policy to those across the border in the United States than it is to the daily newspaper of Britain or France. A reader who moved from Cleveland, say, to Toronto; from Albany to Montreal; from Seattle to Vancouver, would find few novelties in his daily newspaper. He would find news treated in much the same way and from much the same sources, a similar fare of pictorial material, a newspaper of similar size, typography, and make-up. He would find features and comic strips already well known to him. Many of the commodities advertised would bear the same brand names as those to which he was accustomed. The press of Canada is certainly not just a pale copy of the leading newspapers of the United States, but it cannot help but be profoundly influenced by the same forces and factors which mould the daily of the United States.

The news fare of the Canadian reader, insofar as it is Canadian news, is gathered by Canadian reporters and edited by Canadian editors, mainly by two thoroughly efficient news agencies or associations. The Canadian Press is a co-operative news association, counting among its members virtually every Canadian daily newspaper. The British United Press, a subsidiary of the United Press, serves more than half of the Canadian dailies as well as numerous radio stations.

It is in his picture of the outside world that the Canadian reader is compelled to rely on foreign sources and agencies. These are largely American, but by no means exclusively so. The two Canadian news agencies exchange news budgets with the Associated Press, the United Press, Reuters, and several national news services in other parts of the world. Canadian editors also draw from the International News Service and from the North American Newspaper Alliance. They subscribe to the services of the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Daily News*, and other special

facilities, and they buy extensively from the feature syndicates. The latter supply photographs, articles, cartoons, comic strips, columns. An analysis of any typical Canadian daily published in a large Canadian city will disclose many accounts of world news and policy originally gathered by United States' reporters, many pictures taken by United States' photographers. Canada has no political columnist whose work is widely syndicated and no cartoonist whose work appears in many Canadian newspapers. But the Alsop brothers, Walter Lippmann, Herblock, and Fitzgerald are familiar names to Canadians from Atlantic to Pacific.

As against this, the British and French influences are much less noticeable. Reuters, of course, is a principal news source for Canadian readers. Agence France Press is another, though less important, source. Some London cartoonists are from time to time represented in Canadian newspapers. Articles from the *London Times*, the *Observer*, and the *Economist* occasionally appear, but the total quantity does not compare with the American flow, and there is little or no reverse flow. Newspapers in the United States, Britain, and France do, of course, carry some Canadian news, which usually originates with one of the Canadian news agencies. But so far no Canadian columnists, comic-strip creators, cartoonists, or feature writers have won a wide audience in any of these countries.

On the whole there is a uniformity of treatment and content across Canada more marked than in the three other countries here used as a basis of comparison. Britain has its national and provincial press; the differences between them are quite marked. No such division occurs in Canada. The newspapers in various regions of Canada acknowledge no inferiority to those published elsewhere, except, of course, that the larger the urban centre, the larger circulation and the more financial resources are available for enterprise and quality. There are many fine regional newspapers in Canada but no national newspaper, in the sense that the paper is read nationally and has a national influence. The very idea may be unrealistic: since 30 per cent of Canada is

French-speaking, a national newspaper would have to be bilingual. The best newspapers published in French are no whit inferior to the best newspapers published in English. *La Presse* of Montreal is more like a daily published in, say, St. Louis, Missouri, than it is like a daily newspaper published anywhere in France.

The United States, Britain, and France all have "quality" newspapers deliberately aimed at minority readership. This phenomenon is almost unknown in Canada, where the urban concentration does not seem to be large enough to support a newspaper serving only a segment of the population. Except perhaps for two or three small publications in French and a few party or clerical publications the newspapers of Canada are all, in a sense, "mass" or popular newspapers. As they seek to appeal to all potential readers in the community, their use of matter of strictly minority appeal or interest is bound to be limited. In this sense there is no *Manchester Guardian*, no *Christian Science Monitor*, in Canada. Unfortunately, perhaps, this ability of the mass publication to flourish, and in general this failure of the "quality" publication to survive in any national sense, extends also to the weekly magazine as well as the daily newspaper.

If minority or "quality" newspapers have not proved feasible, if national dailies have not appeared, it should not be inferred that the climate in Canada is unfavourable to newspaper success in general. The gargantuan "mass-appeal" daily newspaper, on the North American model, containing thirty, forty, or fifty pages of advertising and at least as much entertainment and easily assimilated general information as it does hard news and current comment, has found a congenial and profitable home in Canada. More than once a Toronto daily has led all North American newspapers in total annual amount of advertising lineage. While of course Canadian circulations seem modest in comparison with those of New York and Chicago, there are several Canadian dailies in the range from 200,000 to over 400,000; and two mass-appeal weeklies with a circulation of over a million copies. This,



in the face of Canada's relatively small and very widely scattered population, is a remarkable achievement. The effect of striving for maximum circulation and thus maximum advertising revenue has made such publications far less distinctive from a journalistic point of view in proportion as they have become more bulky and profitable. But in most areas of Canada such overgrown advertising-packed evening papers can be read in conjunction with others—such as the *Gazette* of Montreal and the *Globe and Mail* of Toronto—which provide a fare of Canadian and world news and intelligent comment such as is found in few other countries.

The technological revolution converted the daily newspaper into big business. A modern rotary press is worth a king's ransom. Sums ranging from a million dollars to ten or twelve million dollars would be required to purchase any one of the leading dailies of Canada. High costs of operation and the gains to be expected from pooling operations have led to the formation of chains and groups. In the hey-day of the small city daily in Canada there were as many as 116 newspapers in operation. This has fallen to ninety in 1956. The number of publishers has fallen from one hundred in 1930 to barely fifty in 1956. Eleven publishers controlled forty-three daily newspapers in that year. About one-third of the ninety dailies were members of a chain or group. Some concern has been expressed about a trend toward monopolistic control of such a vital social force in a free society. However, in fairness to the magnates controlling the several chains and groups, it should be added that their attention has so far been devoted mainly to the financial savings and increased efficiency possible through the combination and pooling of production efforts. In the main, the member papers of groups and chains have been left free to cover local news and to comment upon events without editorial direction, much less central dictation.

The political or party flavour of Canadian newspapers has

been radically changed by the trend toward reduction of units. When the number of Canadian dailies was at its peak, most Canadian cities of any size had two dailies, and Toronto once had as many as seven. This contributed toward an active discussion of party politics and public affairs, which sometimes became very acrimonious. The reader who subscribed to both sides was likely to read the views of the major political parties vigorously presented. In city after city the erstwhile two dailies have merged into one. The result is an inevitable soft-peddling of violent party opinion. An editor anxious to sell his newspaper to every household must consider the danger of making new enemies or still further antagonizing old ones. Under such circumstances there is a strong temptation to write "on-the-one-hand," "on-the-other-hand" kind of editorials. Today (1956) there is virtually no hidebound party press, though of course editors conduct lively political campaigns, especially in those few cities where two or more dailies still operate.

The story of the magazine and other periodical differs in a number of important respects from that of the daily newspaper. Its early struggles were even more discouraging and severe, and it has, on the whole, always been much more vulnerable to competition from the outside. Here Canada's geographical position in relation to the United States is most important. If political lines are ignored, settled Canada appears as a northern fringe area of the United States, a 49th state, as it is sometimes called. Access back and forth has never been severely restrained by border laws. No other border is crossed by as many people or as much commerce. The fact that most Canadians and Americans employ the same language has also been of the utmost importance. Canada has always been willing to pay a considerable price to remain separate in a political sense from the United States, and there have been periods of outright animosity, as well as actual war. Yet, on the whole, the two countries have grown up as neighbours, and the "little" neighbour to the north

has not been able to escape, even when it wanted to, the persistent prodigious influence of the "bigger" neighbour across the way.

Canada has benefited enormously by having free access to the publications of the United States. But from the viewpoint of the Canadian publisher, and therefore of the Canadian reader, this benefit has sometimes been at the expense of a thriving native industry. In some areas of magazine production, the competition of United States publications has been nothing short of disastrous. There are, of course, magazine fields which enjoy a measure of natural protection. Trade magazines are an example. Nothing of this sort produced elsewhere will serve the Canadian reader. But for magazines containing material of universal interest, it is almost impossible for a Canadian publisher to compete with the floods of large, glossy, interesting, technically wonderful productions that pour across the border and dominate every Canadian newsstand.

Indeed, in 1951 the Periodical Press Association told the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences that Canada was the only country of any size in the world whose people read more foreign periodicals than they did their own. Commenting on this statement, a noted Canadian editor, B. K. Sandwell, observed:

The plain truth is that most Canadian readers have no consciousness that these foreign periodicals are foreign; they seem like the natural reading-matter for Canadians, and if every now and then they discuss something about which the Canadian can do nothing himself, such as who shall be President of the United States or how much shall be advanced to Europe under Marshall Aid, he still feels a lively interest in these questions.

Half a dozen Canadian magazines, using variants of a common formula, have found a way to prosper in the face of external competition. Without exception they aim at the masses and mingle information with a large measure of popular entertainment. The most valuable from a national viewpoint is *Maclean's*.

In a recent survey, *Maclean's* has been described as holding up a mirror to the face of Canada, "reflecting in elaborate picture layouts and photographic prose the surface, present and past, of the national scene."

Trade journals, dealing with technical and professional matters, farm journals, financial and commercial magazines, have also given a good account of themselves. The "quality" and literary magazines, the serious magazines, have suffered most. In a sense it is hardly realistic to blame outside competition for this. The blunt facts are that there is still a limited demand for such magazines and that such limited demand can for the most part be more cheaply satisfied by importing English, French, and American publications. Until there are more Canadian readers ready to pay a little extra for their own quality and literary magazines, such publications will have a lean time or fail to survive beyond a few issues.

In the earliest days, in particular, it was not so much outside competition that was to blame for high mortality among the magazines as a limited market among a pioneer people, who were in the main nonliterary and in any event had no surplus for luxuries. If pioneer newspapers could frequently count on some revenue from the public purse (from official advertisements), pioneer magazines had to struggle along without any such support. Under these circumstances, it is surprising to read of the appearance, as early as 1789, of *The Nova Scotia Magazine*. That it lasted three years is more a tribute to the devotion of journalists and scholars, both recent immigrants to Nova Scotia, than to the loyalty of the three or four hundred subscribers among whom it was distributed. A barren period followed, in all parts of British North America. Between 1823 and 1840, however, five or six literary magazines were launched. The most successful was *The Literary Garland*, of Montreal, which continued publication, after a very shaky few months, for thirteen years. When it died, one of its most distinguished contributors, Susanna Moodie, attributed its collapse to the

growing competition of American magazines of high quality and low price.

If an American magazine publisher can cover his production costs by sales in the United States, his subsequent receipts from Canadian sales can be regarded as velvet, especially if many or most of the commodities and services advertised in his advertising columns are of interest to Canadian customers and are available in Canadian shops. An even more profitable operation is to issue a Canadian edition, using materials for the most part already paid for by American publication. Such Canadian editions, if large in circulation, prove highly attractive outlets for Canadian advertising. This new form of competition has recently led to renewed protests from Canadian magazine publishers, and the Canadian government announced in its 1956 budget a 20-per-cent tax on the gross advertising revenues of such Canadian editions, to be applied unless 75 per cent of the content of the Canadian edition was Canadian material. This tax, announced well in advance, drew down extensive criticism from both Canada and the United States, and there was general expectation that the government would reconsider the proposal. This, however, did not prove to be so.

It is over a century since *The Literary Garland* decayed, and the years in between have seen a steady succession of new literary ventures which have gone the same way. Many of them would have faded away in any event. Those which survived had to meet the competition of imported magazines from the United States and Britain, and this competition has had good effects as well as bad. Much weak and inferior work went to the wall. Those magazines which have survived have succeeded by improving their appeal, which, in technical ways at least, meant an improvement of quality.

What the literary historian must deplore most, I think, are those victims of the ruthless processes of internal and external competition which for a while fostered experimental and amateur work and thus provided a kindergarten or training school

for young and ambitious Canadian writers. The regional magazine, the "little" magazine, the academic magazine, the artistic and cultural periodical—hospitable to promise and to incipient merit—these have appeared from time to time, but most of them are gone. The market is actually narrower for some types of literary material today than it was a generation ago. It is certain that many potential literary figures cannot run today because they never learned how to crawl. This is true, perhaps, all over the world, but especially so in Canada.

How very narrow the skirmishing ground for certain types of writer is today, and that in a country enjoying such national prosperity and upgrowth of population as never before, is illustrated by a remark made to me by Thomas H. Raddall, one of Canada's leading novelists and short-story writers. For the kind of Canadian short story he liked to write, he said, there was only one paying market in Canada, and that was *Maclean's*. If he wrote such a story, one likely to be of special interest to Canadian readers but with less appeal elsewhere, he could offer it to *Maclean's*. But if *Maclean's* turned it down, he might as well throw it in the wastebasket. Even *Maclean's*, once a large market for fiction, has sharply shifted its interest to factual articles and national reporting in recent years. It would be misleading, perhaps, not to add that in recent years the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has been in the market for a limited number of Canadian short stories. Scripts for television dramas are now in demand, as well as radio scripts. These new outlets have done something to make up for the declining market in the Canadian magazine for the literary short story.

While Canada is well served by its popular daily press, by its trade journals, and in the main by its academic and scholarly publications, the biggest gap, it seems to me, is in the field of informed interpretation and comment on public affairs, written while events are still fresh. There is no *Economist*, no *Observer*, no *New Republic*, no *Saturday Review*. The quality magazines, such as *Atlantic* and *Harper's*, are not represented either, and

there is no *Listener*, no *Punch*, no *New Yorker*. (Still, there is *The Montrealer*.) Perhaps it would be unreasonable to expect any of these in a country of sixteen million people, of whom 30 per cent recognize French as their native tongue and another 20 per cent are not Anglo-Saxon in racial origin. This scatters the market. There is not only an extensive French language press and periodical literature in Canada, but an important foreign-language press. Of the eight million people with long traditions in the English language, many are still only two or three generations away from the frontier, if that. And while the absence of a richer store of native periodicals in these fields is to be deplored, it is a matter for gratitude and a good omen for the future that the outstanding publications of Britain, France, and the United States are so readily accessible for Canadian readers, and in the two languages spoken by the Canadian people. Intellectual ideas know no national boundaries.

In the past generation, two new media of mass communication have burst in to challenge the old supremacy of the printed page. Canadians have taken enthusiastically to television, as they did earlier to radio. By 1956 Canada had become the second country in the world (after the United States) in the number of television broadcasting stations, and third (after the United States and the United Kingdom) in the number of receivers. About 97 per cent of Canadian homes reported ownership of at least one radio set.

The effect of these new mass media on reading, and hence on the sale of newspapers, magazines, and books, is still uncertain. The early apprehension of the newspaper world that radio news might hurt their circulation has proved unwarranted: circulation figures of newspapers have steadily risen. Similarly the fear that television would cut down the purchase of magazines and books has not yet been shown to have much foundation. There appear to be contrary effects. Families buying television sets may for a while divert money into payments which would otherwise have gone into other forms of entertainment

and instruction. But radio and television open up new horizons. They awaken an interest in new worlds. It may be that the net effect will be to whet the appetite of listeners and viewers for more reading rather than less. It is becoming clear in Canada as well as elsewhere that the newspaper, the radio, and television are to a large extent complementary rather than competitive. Each can do things the other cannot. The printed word can still do many things, and perhaps will always be able to do such things, which so far neither radio nor television have shown a capacity to do. Working together, these three media can give the people a flow of information about their environment never before possible and may create new categories of intelligent and interested readers in generations to come.

### *Appendix*

#### DAILY NEWSPAPERS WITH CIRCULATION OF OVER 100,000 AND THEIR POLITICAL AFFILIATION

*La Presse*, Montreal. Independent.

*Star*, Montreal. Independent.

*Le Soleil* (morning); *L'Événement-Journal* (morning, evening),  
Quebec. Independent-Liberal.

*Globe and Mail*, Toronto. Independent.

*Star*, Toronto. Independent-Liberal.

*Telegram*, Toronto. Independent-Conservative.

*Province*, Vancouver. Independent.

*Sun*, Vancouver. Independent.

*Free Press*, Winnipeg. Independent-Liberal.

#### PERIODICALS OF GENERAL INTEREST

(For scientific periodicals see the chapter on science.)

*Canadian Forum*, Toronto. Political, literary, economic. Monthly.

*Dalhousie Review*, Dalhousie University, Halifax. Political, literary,  
economic. Quarterly.

*International Journal* (Journal of the Canadian Institute of Inter-  
national Affairs), Toronto. Quarterly.



*Public Affairs* (Journal of the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University), Halifax. Quarterly.

*Le Canada Français*, Laval University, Quebec. Monthly.

*Le Samedi*, Montreal. Stories and articles. Weekly.

*Maclean's Magazine*, Toronto. Stories and articles. Fortnightly.

*Liberty*, Toronto. Stories and articles. Monthly.

*Queen's Quarterly* (Queen's University), Kingston. Political and literary.

*Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*. Literary, religious, historical. Quarterly.

*Revue Moderne*, Montreal. Stories and articles. Monthly.

*Revue Populaire*, Montreal. Stories and articles. Monthly.

*Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne*, Montreal. Political, literary, scientific.

*Saturday Night*, Toronto. Political, literary. Fortnightly.

*University of Toronto Quarterly*, Toronto. Political, literary.

## Growth in Canadian Art

AS THE important recent developments in Canadian art began about 1940, I have placed the main emphasis in this article on the period 1940-1955. The general unfamiliarity of the subject and the ever-present need of explaining recent developments in terms of their backgrounds have, however, caused me to review the past at some length. The state of art at any given time is, in any case, always conditioned by that period's knowledge of the past.

These years, on the wider stage of general history, have witnessed the dramatic growth of a relatively unselfconscious and quasi-colonial country into not only an independent nation but a world power as well, in the military, economic, and political spheres. In the arts, this rapid development is manifest as a two-way movement. On the one hand, in a country where art was formerly regarded as the pastime of the leisured few, we have seen the arts become the concern of the many. And, to parallel this growth in public interest, there began in the early years of World War II an exciting new movement in painting which has not abated in force up to the present day. On the other hand, we have had rolled back for us the past of Canadian art—a history which most Canadians did not even know existed. Those engaged in the exploration of our artistic heritage have

had during these years the pleasure of informing a delighted public of an art going back a full three centuries. Our tardiness in discovering the past is surely explained by the state of national feeling up to 1940, for we then had only seventy-odd years of Confederation behind us and only a decade of nationhood—if we date the end of the old empire and the beginning of the present Commonwealth of Nations from the Statute of Westminster in 1931.

National feeling now is very strong. Though one may well question whether nationalism is not an anachronism in an age when the need for international awareness is so great, Canadians are happily still by temperament and training quite incapable of flaunting their nationality. Modesty and restraint are deeply ingrained Canadian characteristics which are found in our art as a whole, along with several other oddly assorted traits of character, such as practicality and forthrightness, traditionalism and romantic idealism, and an unruffled acceptance of cultural diversity. Also to be recognized are some interesting similarities with and differences from the art of our close relatives, the British, the French, and the Americans. These generalities, which so intrigue the national mind today, cannot be dealt with fully here, but a mention of them may serve further to justify the historical notes which are included in this study.

There is of course no space here for anything but the broadest and most general treatment of Canadian art. One must therefore regretfully forego the mention of many individual artists and works of art\* and architecture, including some with a claim to importance. Yet this limitation has the advantage of forcing concentration upon over-all patterns of development in a country where geography has always encouraged parochialism of outlook. It also affords an opportunity to chart out the ground for the much-needed and yet-unwritten history of Canadian art. For the sake of completeness I have included, in the following pages, brief discussions of architecture, sculpture, and the decorative arts, and finally of painting, which has been our most

important art in recent years. All this is prefaced by a short account of literature and research on art up to the present, as well as of art organizations and of the public attitude toward the arts.

It has already been suggested that the arts did not always enjoy a prominent place in national consciousness. In colonial days, which in Canada lasted far into the nineteenth century, they had a functional and practical role in community life—though, as will be seen, they were often productive of highly interesting results at various intervals between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. In the years immediately following Confederation (1867) the “higher” arts, which then had but a handful of isolated followers in this vast and underpopulated country, were suddenly taken up and fostered by a group of enthusiasts who in 1880 founded both the Royal Canadian Academy and the National Gallery of Canada. A period followed during which the arts with great difficulty caught up with these grandiose ideas. It was not in fact until just before World War I that the appearance of the first national school of painting justified the dreams of 1880. The brashness and occasional hollowness of the landscape school of the 1910’s and 1920’s gave evidence, if such were needed, of our lack of maturity and of confidence in our nationality. Though at its best it inspired a genuine pride in our geography, at its worst it produced picture postcards advertising the various regions of the country. It was not until the beginning of World War II that artists were able to liberate themselves from national propaganda and to enter the arena of world art without a feeling of self-consciousness. This emergence into international awareness meant at once a sacrifice of what had become a snug isolation in the northern fastnesses and the beginnings of a sense of maturity.

The development of what art literature we yet possess reflects this pattern of development. Until very recently all writings on art (as on literature) in Canada suffered from acute myosis. The

earliest writings<sup>1</sup>—"early" in this context means not much before 1910—were of necessity written by amateurs who approached their subject either with an exaggerated reverence for Europe or in ignorance of movements in the larger world. Most of them tended to exaggerate the importance of the one group, school, or period which they knew to the detriment of those they did not.<sup>2</sup> The first historical survey of Canadian art appeared only in 1939,<sup>3</sup> the first adequate monograph had appeared only in 1936,<sup>4</sup> and the first national periodical began publication in 1943.<sup>5</sup> Mature criticism in the newspapers and elsewhere was not far in advance of the latter date. It is entertaining to note at what date the authors of different periods considered that "Canadian art" began. In older books, as indeed in some newer ones as well, it is assumed to have been born about the middle of the nineteenth century in the period of Paul Kane and Cornelius Krieghoff.<sup>6</sup> According to the contemporary chroniclers of the "National Movement," it began to all intent and purpose with the rise of the Group of Seven, about 1910.<sup>7</sup> For some later writers, especially those of polemic bent,<sup>8</sup> it began about 1940 with the Montreal School's espousal of international movements.

While writing on art was experiencing its growing pains, a

<sup>1</sup> These consist mainly of articles and pamphlets, e.g., Edmund Morris, *Art in Canada* (1911) and articles in *Canada, An Encyclopaedia* (vol. IV, 1898) and *Canada and Its Provinces* (vol. XII, 1913).

<sup>2</sup> Newton Mactavish, *The Fine Arts in Canada* (1925); A. H. Robson, *Canadian Landscape Painters* (1932); William Colgate, *Canadian Art* (1943).

<sup>3</sup> Graham McInnes, *A Short History of Canadian Art* (1939; new ed. 1950).

<sup>4</sup> D. W. Buchanan, *James Wilson Morrice* (1936). Important later books by this author are *Canadian Painters* (Phaidon Books, 1945) and *The Growth of Canadian Painting* (1950).

<sup>5</sup> *Canadian Art* (1943- ).

<sup>6</sup> MacTavish, Robson, Colgate, *op. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> F. B. Housser, *A Canadian Art Movement: The Story of the Group of Seven* (1926).

<sup>8</sup> M. Gagnon, *Sur un état actuel de la peinture canadienne* (1945).

handful of archival and anthropological scholars were quietly and methodically cataloguing the totem poles and French-Canadian carvings. The foremost contributor in this field has been the indefatigable researcher Marius Barbeau, who began his work at the National Museum of Canada in 1910 and is still enthusiastically continuing it in 1955.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile Professor Ramsay Traquair<sup>10</sup> of McGill University (with Barbeau's assistance) and Pierre-Georges Roy<sup>11</sup> of the Quebec Archives were making the first researches into early Canadian architecture. These pioneer studies of the 1920's have been followed by those of Gérard Morisset, director of the Quebec Museum, who has produced a most valuable series of monographs on French Canada.<sup>12</sup> A similar service has been performed for early Ontario architecture by Professor Eric Arthur of the University of Toronto.<sup>13</sup> The architecture of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries still awaits its chronicler, though articles occasionally appear on various aspects of this period in the periodicals. The most recent and so far the most scientific piece of research is a monograph by Professor Alan Gowans on the rather limited field of church architecture of eighteenth-century French Canada.<sup>14</sup>

There is still, however, pitifully little formal research into Canadian art, if one thinks of the energies expended in the United States on American art. We have very few university fine arts courses and fewer still on Canadian art. Art history as a university study is not yet ivy-grown with us, for it dates only

<sup>9</sup> M. Barbeau, *Québec, où survit l'ancienne France* (1937); *Totem Poles* (2 vols., 1950-1951), and others.

<sup>10</sup> *The Old Architecture of Quebec* (1947); also McGill University Publications: *Art and Architecture*, ser. XIII, nos. 1-37 (1917-1939).

<sup>11</sup> *Les Vieilles Eglises de la Province de Québec* (1925); *Vieux manoirs, vieilles maisons* (1927); *L'Île d'Orléans* (1928), and others.

<sup>12</sup> *Coup d'oeil sur les arts en Nouvelle France* (1941); *L'Architecture en Nouvelle France* (1949), and others.

<sup>13</sup> *The Early Buildings of Ontario* (1938); *Small Houses of the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries in Ontario* (1940).

<sup>14</sup> *Church Architecture in New France* (1955).

twenty years back. The graduates of our most important centre for this subject, the University of Toronto, and of the other universities with fine arts departments, have almost all had to look to the United States for their jobs. Meanwhile, Canadian museums and universities have until quite recently sought their senior staffs abroad.

With so little academic research in the field of Canadian art, the discovery of the past has been made largely by the museums through the practical media of permanent collections and special exhibitions. The exhibitions have been especially valuable in this respect. The more important earlier ones were wholly preoccupied with the styles and struggles of the day: the Canadian art sections of the two British Empire Exhibitions of 1924 and 1925, for example, were mainly conceived as levers by which to secure approval at home for the National Movement. Gradually, however, by means of several important retrospective showings organized by the National Gallery of Canada, such as those of Cornelius Krieghoff (1934) and James Wilson Morrice (1937), we became aware of the past. A small section of the large exhibition, "A Century of Canadian Art," sent to the Tate Gallery in 1938, brought West Coast Indian art and early French-Canadian sculpture to the attention of the public—but in London. In 1945 an ambitious exhibition organized by the Art Gallery of Toronto, "The Development of Painting in Canada," revealed to our Canadian public for the first time the existence of a Canadian art in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries as well as in later years. "The Arts of French Canada," a large exhibition organized in 1946 by the Detroit Institute of Arts and several Canadian museums, provided the first consistent showing of early sculpture and decorative arts. Since that time a series of monograph exhibitions have been held, including those of Emily Carr (1945), Lawren Harris (1948), Arthur Lismer (1950), A. Y. Jackson (1953), F. H. Varley (1954), and David Milne (1955).

Meanwhile, the museums which sponsored these exhibitions

had themselves undergone a transformation. As effective institutions, art museums in Canada date only from about 1915. As in other countries, their predecessors had been the art societies and art schools. Local artists' organizations had sprung up in Montreal and Toronto as early as the 1840's, though they later disappeared. The Art Association of Montreal, founded in 1860, functioned for many years as an important exhibiting body and established its own school in 1882.<sup>15</sup> It also gradually built up a permanent collection which formed the nucleus of the present Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. Another hardy perennial holder of exhibitions was the Ontario Society of Artists, founded in Toronto in 1872, which prepared the way for the Ontario College of Art (1876) and the Art Gallery of Toronto (1900). The Royal Canadian Academy was established in 1880, along with the National Gallery which was intended at first to serve as a repository for the academicians' diploma works. Thus the National Gallery was largely inactive until 1913, when it was incorporated and given wide responsibilities for a national collection and for carrying on art activities throughout the country. The Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, which includes Canadian art among its many other collections, was founded in 1914. With a few exceptions,<sup>16</sup> most of the remaining museums, schools, and organizations date from the 1920's and difficult 1930's.<sup>17</sup> It is only in the last decade that they have striven to carry out the duties of the modern museum, which now include the circulating of travelling exhibitions, the pub-

<sup>15</sup> Other early schools included the Nova Scotia College of Art (1887), the Mount Allison University's school (1894), and the Hamilton Art School (1886).

<sup>16</sup> The Royal Architectural Institute of Canada (1907), the Art Gallery of Hamilton (1912), and the Winnipeg School of Art (1913).

<sup>17</sup> E.g., the Ecole des Beaux-Arts de Québec (1922), the Ecole des Beaux-Arts de Montréal (1923), the Edmonton Museum of Arts (1924), the Vancouver School of Art (1925), the Vancouver Art Gallery (1931), the Musée de la Province du Québec (1933), the Winnipeg Art Gallery (1933), the New Brunswick Museum (1934), the Mackenzie Gallery, Regina (1934), the Willistead Gallery, Windsor, Ont. (1936), and others.



lishing of reproductions and the making of films, radio and television work, and the many other activities which tax their slender resources to the limit.

Collections of Canadian art in these museums and galleries grew up, until the 1930's, simply through the yearly accretions of contemporary works of art. The mixed bag which resulted from this process has been found to contain some real treasures, as has been shown recently in the process of our rediscovery of several older painters such as Ozias Leduc. Most recently, museum collecting has shown a concern for the past and a desire to be fully representative. In this endeavour the museums have had the benefit of the interest and support of a growing number of private collectors and benefactors. In order to advance this knowledge of past art still further, several museums have begun to gather the archives of art in Canada. In this activity the Art Gallery of Toronto and the National Gallery of Canada have been leaders, but their work cannot compare in comprehensiveness with that of the Quebec Museum, where, over the past few years, Gérard Morisset has been forming his vast inventory of works of art in Quebec. The various historical museums, notably the new Sigmund Samuel Library of Canadiana in Toronto, have also played an important part in advancing our knowledge of the past in specialized fields.

The various art organizations formed in very recent years illustrate the broadened scope of art activities. Out of wartime concern for "reconstruction" came a national conference of artists at Kingston in 1940, resulting in the founding of the Federation of Canadian Artists with its branches throughout the country. In 1945 the many art societies formed the Canadian Arts Council as an unofficial body to "co-ordinate" (another favourite wartime word) all their activities; but for several reasons it has not been able to fulfil expectations. The vital question of preserving our fast-disappearing early architecture has received attention in the 1920's in Quebec from the Commission des Monuments Historiques and in Ontario from the recently

formed Architectural Conservancy of Ontario. To cover two new fields of endeavour, the National Industrial Design Council and the Community Planning Association were organized in 1948. Meanwhile, the peculiar problems of art exhibitions in relation to Canada's geography had been tackled by regional organizations such as the Maritime Art Association (the pioneer), the Western Canada Art Circuit, and the Art Institute of Ontario. These are supplemented by similar organizations which cover more limited areas. All these, in co-operation with the National Gallery and other museums, have already been responsible for many hundreds of showings, ranging from the largest collections of original works down to the smallest exhibitions of reproductions, in cities, towns, and villages throughout the country. This extension work was begun about 1920 when the National Gallery sent out its first loan exhibitions, by virtue of which it is distinguished from other national galleries of the world.

Government participation in the arts has also spread to the provinces. The Saskatchewan government in 1949 established its Arts Board roughly on the model of the Arts Council of Great Britain. Aided by that province's strong tradition of co-operation, it has worked wonders in fostering the various arts in a region which is composed of small and widely scattered prairie settlements. Quebec has set up its system of annual art competitions with prizes in the form of travelling scholarships, and its provincial museum has embarked upon a program of extension work which supplies even the northernmost mining towns.

The federal government's interest in art has increased considerably since the war—during which it had maintained a number of official war artists. It has inaugurated a system of travelling scholarships, using its credits in "blocked" European currencies for the purpose, and these scholarships have already been awarded to a number of artists. In recent years it has handsomely supported the National Gallery and made possible a

startling postwar growth in the collections which has culminated in important purchases of masterpieces from the Prince of Liechtenstein's collection in 1953, 1954, and 1956. In 1949 it appointed the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, whose findings and recommendations are discussed in the Preface to this book.

Canadian architecture has always been closely related to that of other countries—the other country varying with the period under consideration: France in the French colonial period, England in the period after 1760, and the United States in more recent times. But at no period has a distinctive flavour been lacking in Canadian architecture, if by architecture we mean the general man-made environment, the general appearance and character of our towns and countryside.

The French colonial period produced perhaps the most highly characteristic style we have ever known. French traditions of building were well planted during the era of royal patronage which ended at the death of Louis XIV, and by the middle of the eighteenth century they had blossomed out in a manner unknown to France. This is particularly true of the country churches and cottages (Plate Ia), which, probably in response to the challenge offered by the flat St. Lawrence plain, assumed an unconscious *chinoiserie* caused by the pronounced tilt of the eaves. The towns, however, reproduced provincial France somewhat more faithfully, so that the Quebec of today with its narrow streets and severely designed old houses still preserves the character of a walled European town.

Similarly, town architecture in the English colonies reflected the British Georgian and Regency styles more closely than the country districts. I say "British" in this connection rather than "English," for in eastern and central Canada there is still ample evidence of the austere yet pleasing work of the Scottish stonemasons. The texture which they gave to our cold grey limestone and their generous mortaring provide the most perfect treat-

ment of this material imaginable. Often in Montreal and Ottawa one finds their work combined with a French precision of design and individual French features such as the casement window, and the result is most successful and distinctive. Our continuing allegiance to brick and stone is perhaps our only heritage from the architecture of early Canada; and these permanent materials set off our domestic architecture sharply from that of the United States, which has always preferred to use wood (Plate Ib). But in certain parts of the Canadian countryside which were settled by the Loyalists and others from the United States we find houses and some churches which more closely reflect the late Georgian and Classic Revival phases of American wooden architecture. One of the best examples of church architecture in Ontario is St. Andrew's, Niagara-on-the-Lake, a temple-church of 1831, the wooden portico of which was copied from the Theseum in Athens; the main body of the church is, however, of brick.

The Classic Revival did not, as it did in the United States, leave a lasting mark on Canadian towns. Canada's first great wave of building came later, when the Gothic Revival of the mid-nineteenth century had become the prevalent style in building. Thus our first sizeable buildings and our first "national" buildings bear the stamp of romanticism. The greatest monument of the period, and indeed one of the largest surviving examples of the Gothic Revival in the world, is the Canadian parliament buildings at Ottawa. These were begun in 1859; the new capital for the province of Canada had been chosen by Queen Victoria only two years previously. They were, however, not ready for occupation until the first parliament after Confederation was ready to meet in 1869. Hailed by such representative minds of their day as Anthony Trollope as symbols of ancient traditions transplanted in new lands, they have become as evocative of Canada as Westminster is of England or as the Capitol is of the United States. Situated on a cliff high above the Ottawa River, they consist today of the two older

lateral or "departmental" blocks designed by Frederick Stent—picturesque agglomerations of sandstone with Ruskinian fenestration, adorned with a forest of pinnacles, crowned with a great variety of roofs and towers of French, Flemish, English, and German inspiration, and covered with patterned slates and with iron crestings—and the library (in the form of an English chapter house), which is the only remaining part of the original central or parliament building proper designed by Thomas Fuller (Plate IIa). The rest of the central building was burned in 1916 and is now replaced by a modern Gothic structure by John Pearson, adorned with the spectacular Peace Tower (1927). The Gothic Revival also produced villas in sufficient numbers to give our cities the basically romantic aspect which they have never lost. In the 1870's these picturesque Gothic buildings were supplemented by many of those gaunt and cheap brick structures which were the familiar product of those years of recurrent economic depressions. The sturdy Richardsonian Romanesque of American origin had a considerable if belated effect during the late 1880's and 90's but was in many cases modified by the addition of features which lent a Scottish baronial air to prosaic office buildings as well as to colleges and parliaments (e.g., the Ontario legislature in Toronto).

In another form this "Canadian baronial" style became one of the principal protagonists in the battle of the styles which characterized architecture at the turn of the century here as elsewhere. At a time when the Classic was considered suitable for banks and office buildings, the Gothic for churches and the Georgian for houses, the railway companies came forward with a clever wrinkle of their own. Led by the Boston architect Bruce Price, who in 1890 designed the Château Frontenac in Quebec, they adopted the French château as the model for their hotels. The sturdy Château Frontenac was followed in 1910 by D. H. MacFarlane's more elegant Château Laurier in Ottawa; and these two buildings were the forebears of a whole brood of railway hotels which have since dotted the country from coast

to coast. The domestic architecture of the period was also lent a little local colour in Canada by the admixture of a few mannerisms from *Art Nouveau*: in particular the use of curvilinear ornament and a picturesque distortion of fenestration. The real uncreativity of the period was relieved by only a few forward-looking buildings. Some of these are found in Ottawa, where, strangely enough, a pupil of Frank Lloyd Wright, Francis Sullivan, worked during the 1910's. Sullivan's influence was quite negligible in his own time, though in recent years that of Wright has been felt in some quarters.

The development of contemporary architecture has been extremely difficult in Canada because of the persistence of the "styles" as rivals of the contemporary mode. It is in Ottawa that the struggle is seen to best advantage. Here the powers of conservatism which reign supreme in official circles have so far succeeded in keeping government building in bondage to the *château* style. Uniformity and monumentality are the main reasons given for this resistance to modern architecture, and they are familiar-enough arguments in some other capital cities of the world. Nonofficial building in Ottawa is at last taking up the challenge, and in this sphere one firm, Abra and Balharrie, have been responsible for several large and handsome buildings of steel and glass which have already transformed the face of the capital city in spite of the official plans. In other eastern cities such as Halifax, Quebec, and even Montreal, traditional conservatism seems to be even stronger, so that contemporary architecture can hardly be said to have got under way in those places.

The newer movements are best able to make their way in the cities of central and western Canada. Toronto, as the expanding metropolis of central Canada, has witnessed an extraordinary amount of building on a large scale since the war, though some of its most interesting architects, including the Parkins, have up to this moment been employed mainly in the design of schools, houses, churches, and other smaller jobs (Plate IIb).

In Winnipeg, the firm of Green, Blankstein, Russell and Associates have made a definite impression by means of such handsome buildings as the University of Manitoba library and the Shaarey Zedek Synagogue which show the influence of Mies van der Rohe. This firm also won the first prize in the National Gallery competition in 1954 with an informal contemporary design for a building to be set on *piloti*; when built this will make the first official break with Ottawa monumentality.

But it is Vancouver, the least fettered of all Canadian cities by tradition, which offers the contemporary architect the greatest freedom of action as well as a setting of great natural beauty and a salubrious climate in which to work. Here an enthusiastic group of young architects is busy with buildings large and small. Several firms, including that of Sharp and Thompson, Berwick, Pratt and that of Semmens and Simpson, are leaders among those responsible for some of the most interesting houses, churches, and office buildings in the whole country; they are also gradually developing a regional style through the exploitation of local materials in relation to the climate. Vancouver architects are also pioneers in the use of mural paintings and architectural sculpture in conjunction with architecture. A good illustration of this collaboration of artist and architect is found in the striking colour design by the painter B. C. Binning for the Dal Grauer Sub-station of the British Columbia Electric Company (Sharp and Thompson, Berwick, Pratt);<sup>18</sup> another is the architect Douglas Simpson's own house, decorated with a large mural by John Korner which extends "through" a glass wall to link indoors and out. In addition, Vancouver is already providing opportunities for architects from other parts of Canada; the recent competition for a civic auditorium has been won by a group of Montreal architects<sup>19</sup> unable in their own city to

<sup>18</sup> Reproduced in colour in *Canadian Art*, XI (1954), 140.

<sup>19</sup> Fred Lebensold, Guy Desbarats, Raymond Affleck, Jean Michaud, and Hazen Sise.

design on such a large scale. Vancouver is clearly the testing place for the new architecture in Canada.

Town planning has little history behind it in Canada, though one should not overlook the large-scale works carried out in the early nineteenth century by the British army engineers who built the citadels of Quebec and Halifax and the fortifications of Kingston, which were among the most ambitious works of their time, and the canal systems of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers. But most towns grew up like weeds, quickly and without benefit of plan. Ottawa's early evolution was like that of all the others until about 1900, when the federal government began seriously to develop the city as a national capital. The Federal District Commission's most successful undertaking was the system of driveways which are designed so that they utilize in a very informal and beautiful way the natural contours of the land and of existing waterways. The Commission has also pioneered in the matter of street furniture, including signs, lamp-posts, and the like—a sphere of which Canadians seem otherwise almost totally ignorant. Streets in many cities are still littered with an archaic tangle of wires supported on a forest of poles, and unrestrained advertising only adds to the confusion. On the outskirts of towns the rash of small houses, motels, and shopping centres is being allowed to spread with alarming rapidity. With a few exceptions these new developments are conceived without thought for their relation to their surroundings. Although here, as in some other countries, the materials are not lacking with which to paint a gloomy picture of the state of architecture and planning today, one must admit in fairness that a consciousness of our man-made surroundings is slowly being born. This will eventually lead to the inevitable assault upon the allied forces of conservatism, laissez-faire, commercialism—and that peculiarly Canadian evil, shanty-building—which now hamper the free development of architecture for a new age.



Of all the arts in Canada today, sculpture is perhaps the least developed. That this has not always been so is made clear by a study of the French colonial period, when sculpture was pre-eminent by its variety and technical quality. It was largely by virtue of sculpture that the art of Catholic New France contrasted so favourably with that of Puritan New England, which had little use for any art but architecture. In New France, sculpture had an important function in providing the necessary interior decoration of the churches. It was therefore fostered by the church as early as 1670, when a school of arts and crafts was already in existence near Quebec.

The demand for sculpture led to the founding of several family studios in which the craft was handed down from generation to generation throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. The leaders during the eighteenth century were the Levasseur family,<sup>20</sup> who had their *atelier* in Quebec. The Levasseurs worked in a provincial version of the Louis XIV and Louis XV styles, developing all the while a very considerable technical skill in their chosen material, wood. The retable (1734-1739) of the Ursuline Chapel in Quebec by Noël Levasseur is their masterpiece. It sparkles in gold, white, and black against a plain east wall over which it spreads rich clusters of garlands, scrolls, and columns; its well-conceived ensemble includes two altars, a graceful pulpit, and several large, rather doll-like statues. The Levasseurs were succeeded in Quebec by the Baillairgé family,<sup>21</sup> who worked well into the nineteenth century. They in turn reflected the classicism of the Louis XVI style. The interior of the chapel of the Hôtel-Dieu in Quebec by Thomas Baillairgé and the fragments in several museums are evidence of the freshness and vigour of their decorative work, while their figures (Plate

<sup>20</sup> Including Noël (1680-1740), Pierre-Noël (1684-1747), Jean-Baptiste Antoine (1717-1775) and François-Noël (1703-1794).

<sup>21</sup> Jean Baillairgé (1726-1805) was the founder of the dynasty; François (1759-1830) and his son Thomas (1791-1859) were the most important members.



Plate Ia. Sifroy Roy house, Beaumont, Quebec. Eighteenth century. Photo, Office Provincial de Publicité, Quebec.



Plate Ib. Small house near Kingsville, Ontario. Early nineteenth century.

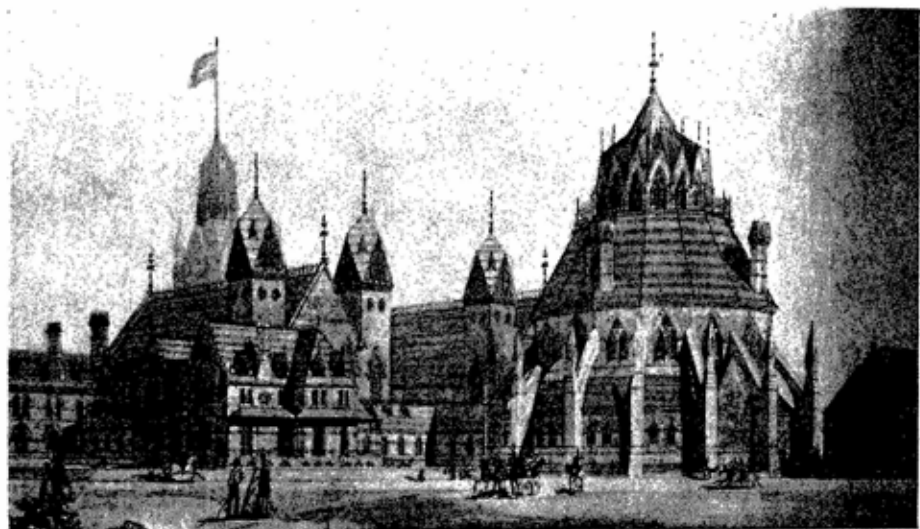


Plate IIa. Thomas Fuller: Drawing for the Parliament Buildings, Ottawa. 1859.  
Collection, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.



Plate IIb. Humber Memorial Hospital, Weston, Ontario. 1949. Architects, John B. Parkin Associates, Toronto.



Plate III. Attributed to François Baillairgé: Virgin and Child. Wood carving, c. 1800. Collection, Detroit Institute of Arts.

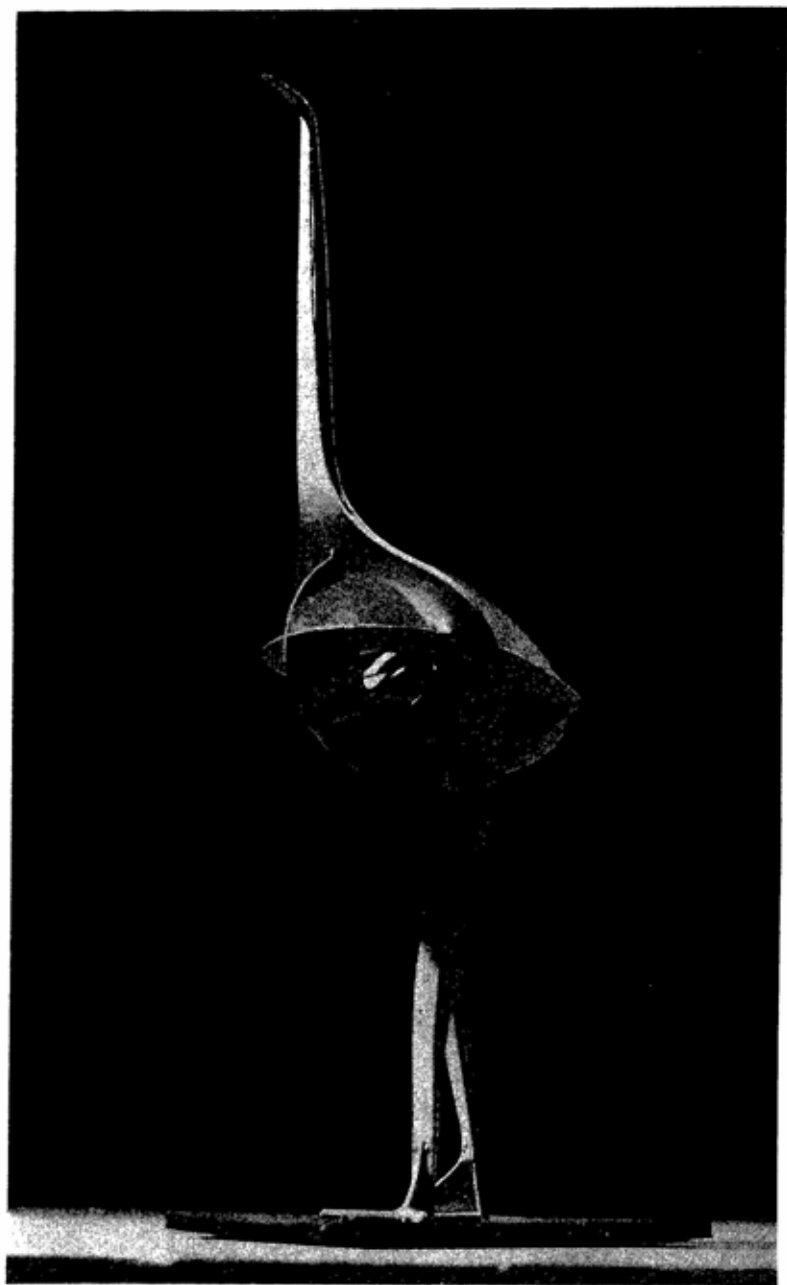


Plate IV. Louis Archambault: Model for *Oiseau de fer*. 1950. Photo, R. and D. Asch, Montreal.



Plate V. The *Aimable Marthe*, a votive painting commissioned by Maurice Simonin, captain of the ship, 1747. Collection, Church of Notre-Dame-des Victoires, Quebec. Photo, Inventaire des Œuvres d'Art, Quebec.



Plate VI. Antoine Plamondon: Portrait of a Boy. c. 1835. Collection, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.



Plate VIIa. Lieutenant Thomas Davies: A View of Château-Richer Church, near Quebec. 1788. Water colour. Collection, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.



Plate VIIb. Homer Watson: On the Grand River at Doon. 1883. Collection, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.





Plate VIII. Maurice Cullen: Old Houses, Montreal. c. 1908-1909. Collection, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.



Plate IX. James Wilson Morrice: Landscape, Trinidad. c. 1921. Collection, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

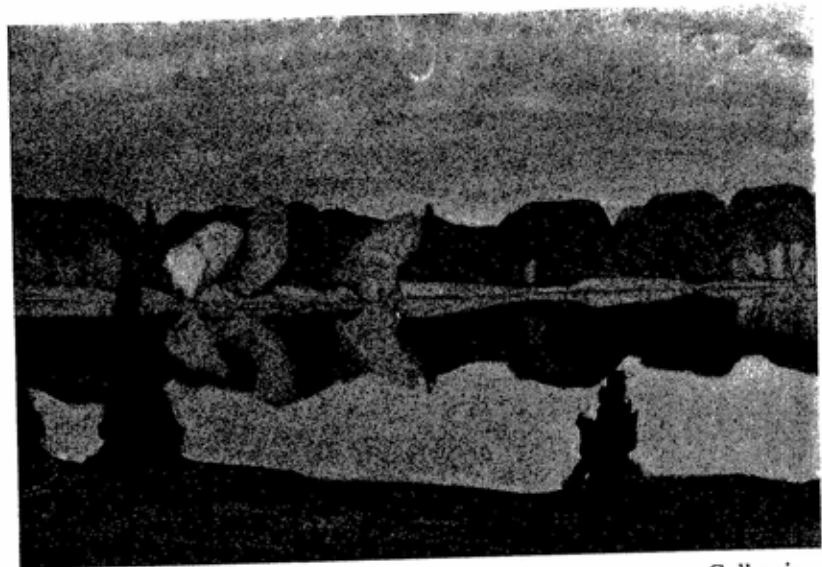


Plate Xa. J. E. H. MacDonald: Little Turtle Lake. 1923-1925. Collection, Dr. G. R. McCall, Montreal. Photo, Dominion Gallery, Montreal.

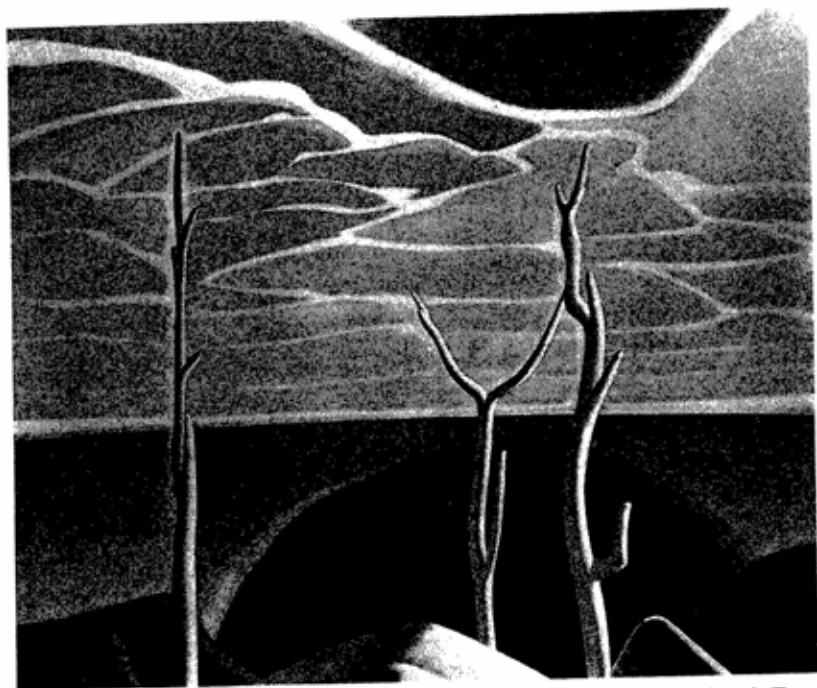


Plate Xb. Lawren Harris: Lake Superior. 1924. Collection, C. S. Band, Esq., Toronto.



Plate XI. Emily Carr: Blunden Harbour. c. 1930. Collection, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.



Plate XII. David Milne: *Painting Place*. 1926-1930. Collection, His Excellency the Governor General.

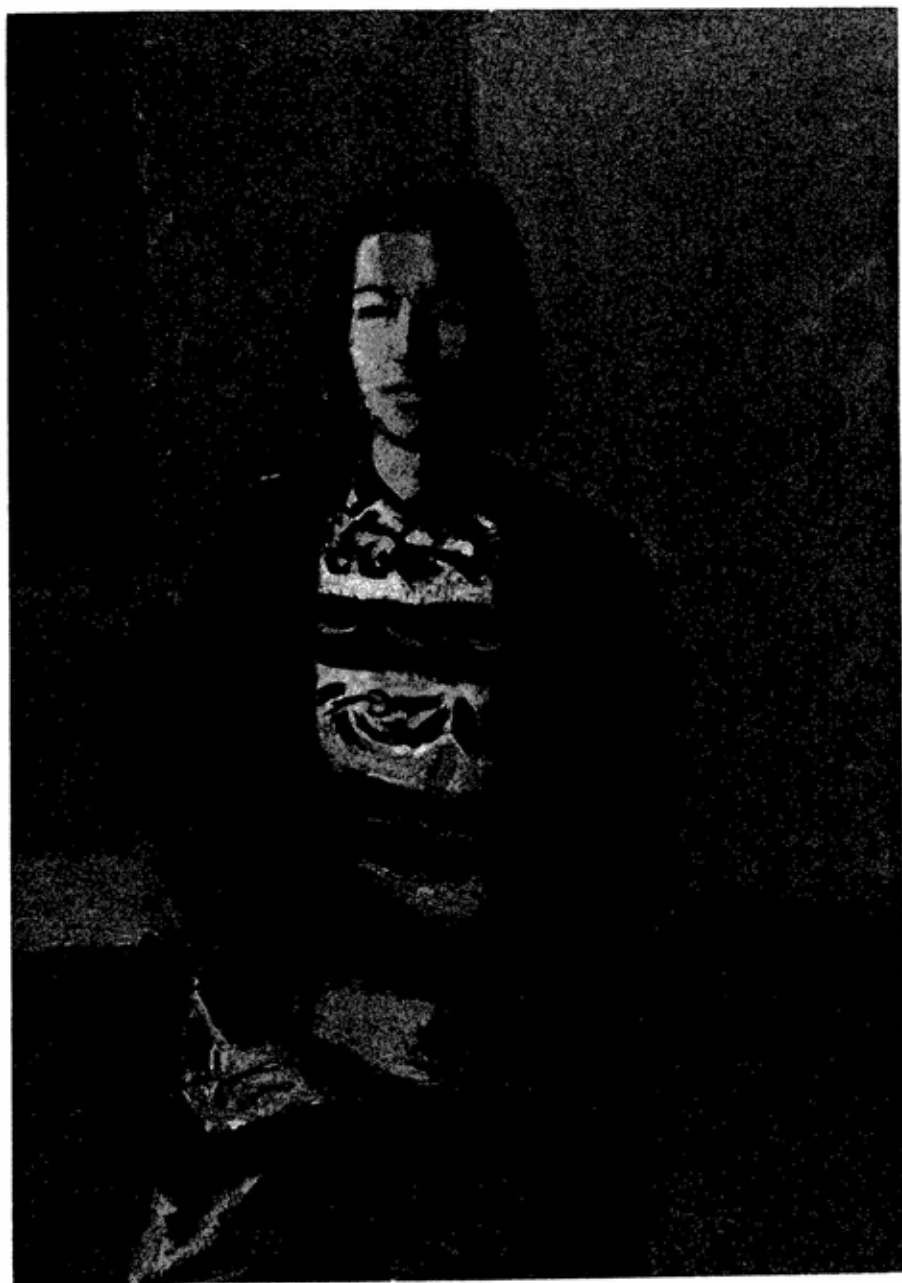


Plate XIII. Goodridge Roberts: Marian. 1939. Collection, M. Maurice Corbeil, Montreal.

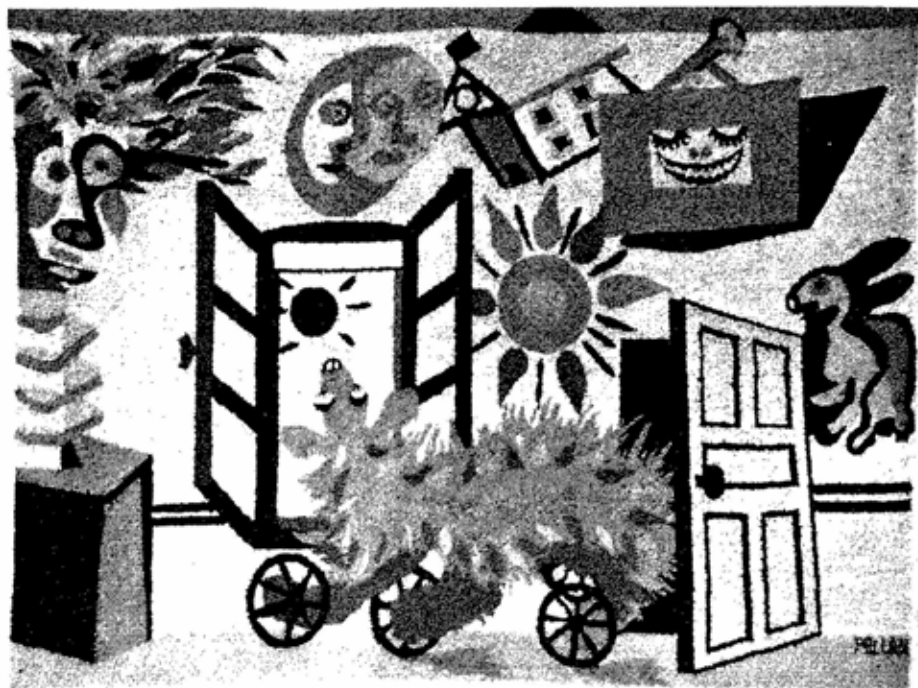


Plate XIV. Hooked rug by Irène Auger after a design by Alfred Pellán. 1947.  
Collection, Musée de la Province de Québec.



Plate XV. Robert La Palme: Backdrop for the Fridolin revue, Montreal. c. 1946.  
Fridolin on stage to right. Photo, National Film Board of Canada.





Plate XVI. Paul-Emile Borduas: Les Carquois fleuris. 1947. Collection, Mme Maurice Chartré, Montreal.



Plate XVII. Jean-Paul Riopelle: Knight Watch. 1953. Collection, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

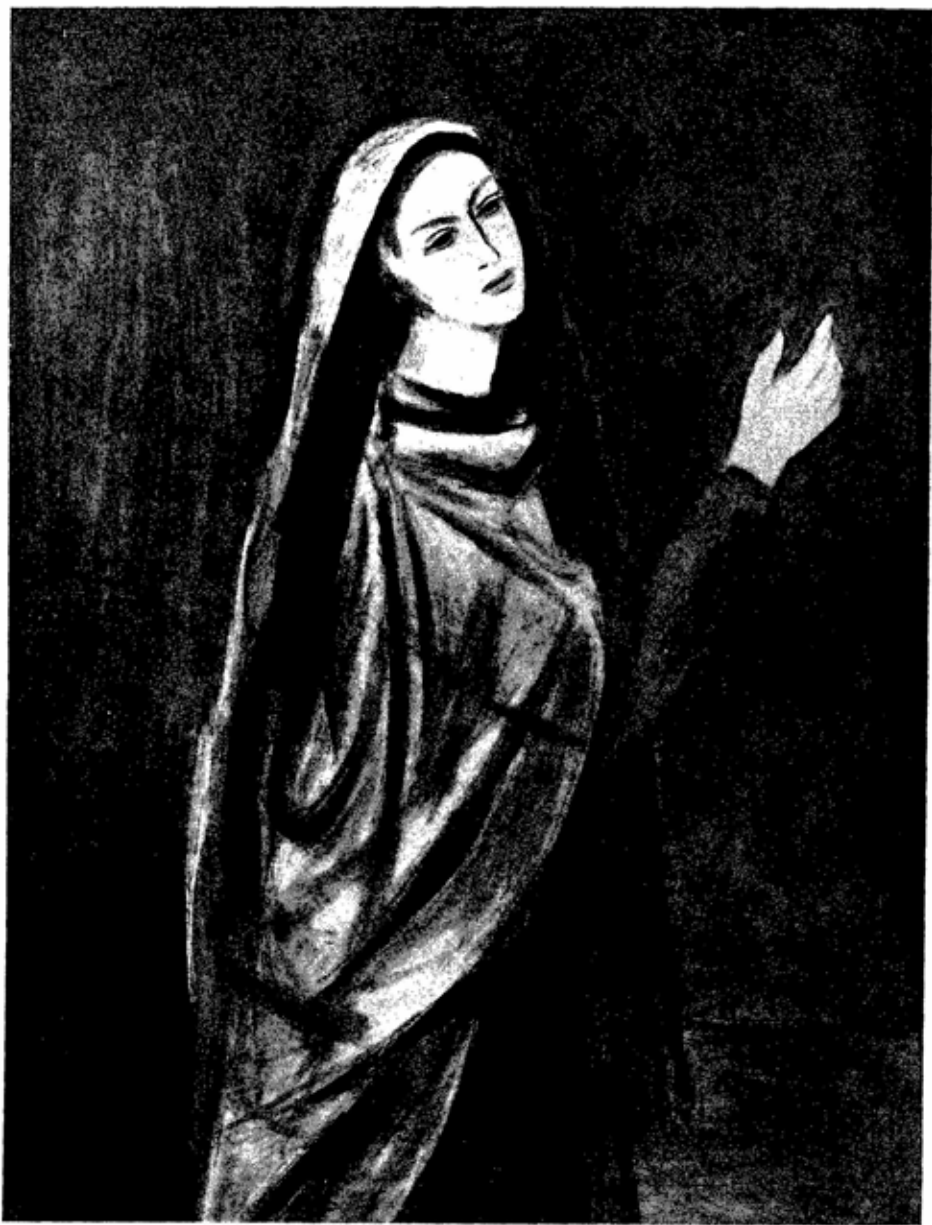


Plate XVIII. Stanley Cosgrove: St. Anne. 1952. Collection, Beaverbrook Museum, Fredericton, New Brunswick.

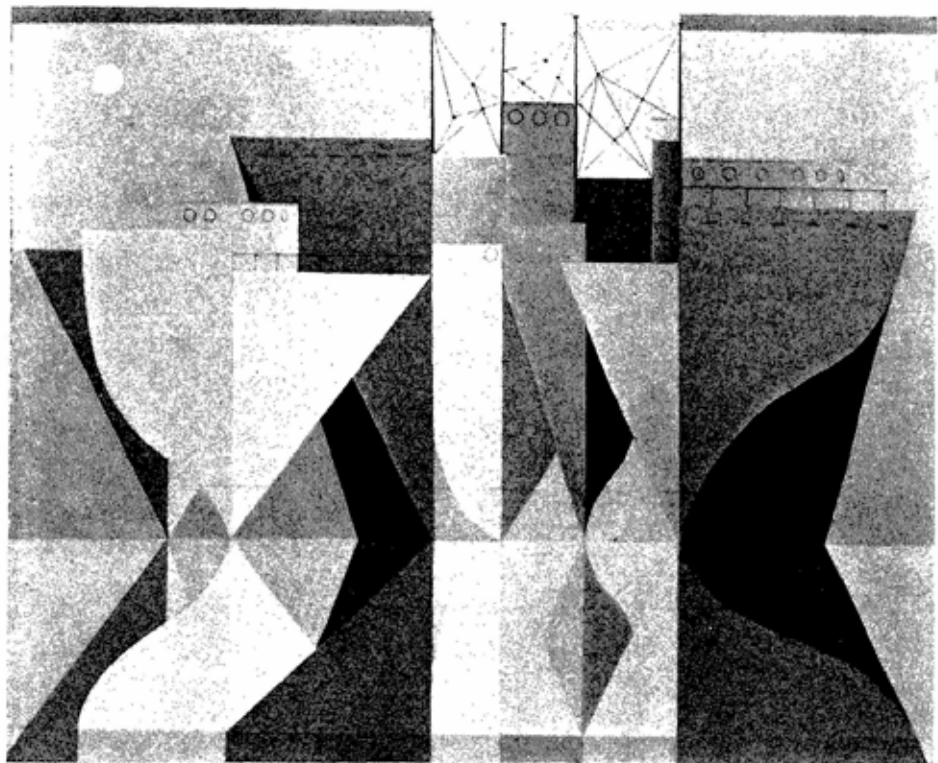


Plate XIX. B. C. Binning: *Ships in a Classical Calm*. 1948. Collection, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

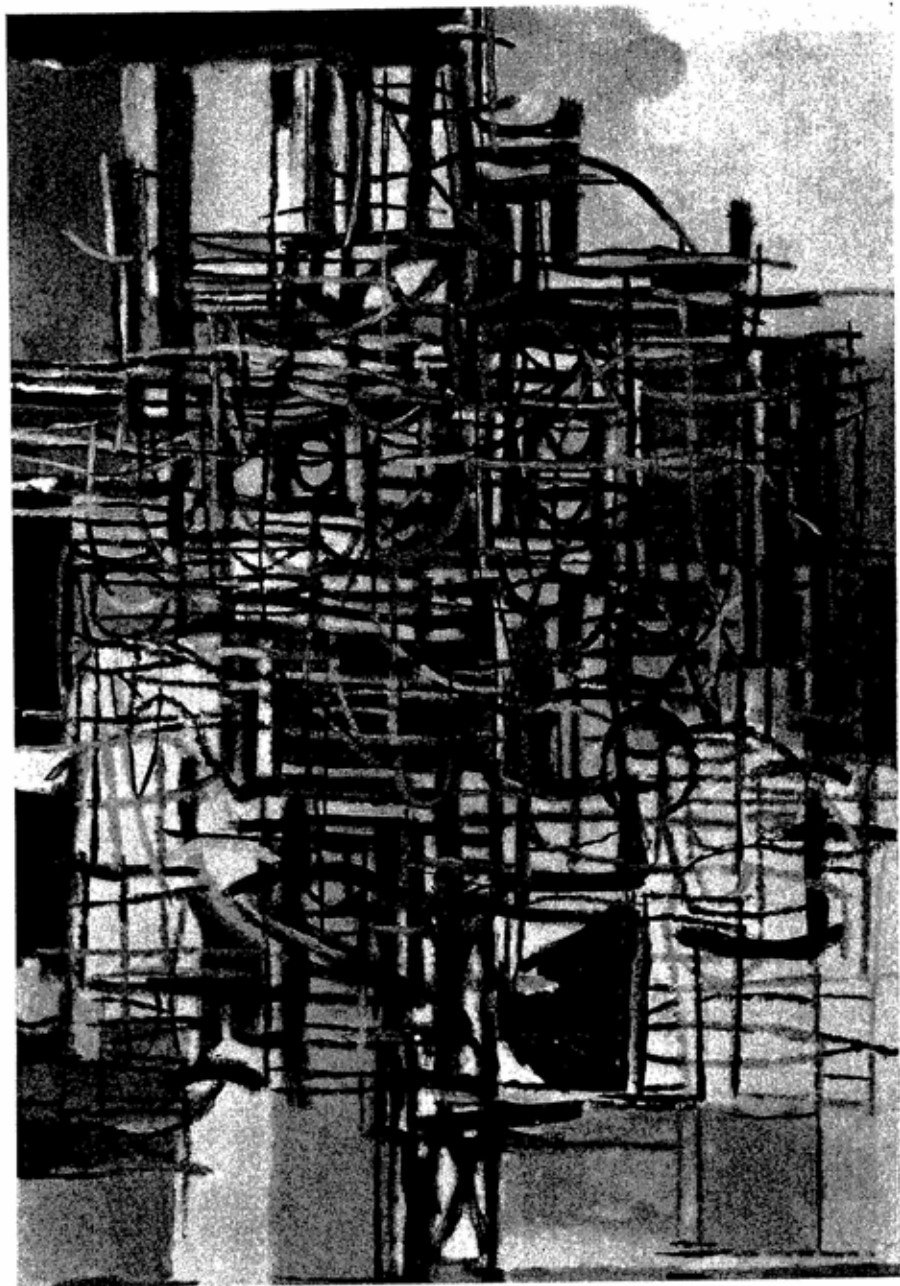


Plate XX. Gordon Smith: Structure with Red Sun. 1955. First prize, National Gallery of Canada Biennial Exhibition, 1955. Collection, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

III) have a provincial liveliness that brings vitality into a style which in Europe (and in the European materials of stone and plaster) had tended toward coldness and formality. Two small figures of saints in the National Gallery of Canada possess that special combination of French elegance and sprightly provincialism which accounts for the charm of so many things French Canadian.

The waning of the traditions established by the *ateliers* accounts for the fact that some later carvers such as Jean Baptiste Côté came rather close to being folk artists. These did, however, carry the craft through the perils of the industrial period and transmitted it eventually to Louis Jobin (1844-1928), the very last of a long line. Jobin, though he underwent both the Gothic Revival and the sentimentality of the late nineteenth century, somehow managed to preserve the Rococo charm of his saints and smiling angels until his death only a quarter-century ago. With him the tradition died, to be revived in debased form by the carvers of the little wooden figures of *habitants* sold to tourists today. The same expiration and dubious revival of a tradition has occurred also in the case of West Coast Indian carving (which had had its climax at the middle of the nineteenth century) and may well threaten the highly original carvings being made by the Eskimos today.

I have devoted the foregoing paragraphs to early sculpture because its discovery by the public has taken place very largely during the past fifteen years. Meanwhile, in the later nineteenth century, academic sculpture had made its timid début. It was called into being by the occasional works of monumental and decorative sculpture which architecture and the taste of the times required. Among the charter members of the Royal Canadian Academy in 1880 there appeared the high-sounding name of Hamilton Plantagenet MacCarthy (1847-1939), whose early work included the manikin figure on the *South African War Memorial* in Ottawa (1902)—a soldier who politely doffs his spiked helmet to all eternity. MacCarthy's later work, hardly

more inspired, includes several of the statues of statesmen on Parliament Hill, on the bases of which sit symbolic figures of Canada as grateful young women or admiring young men in floppy hats. A son, who bore the name of Coeur-de-Lion MacCarthy, was appropriately enough the sculptor of the Ottawa Post Office lions of 1939, the haughtiest of their breed.

The best of the academic sculptors was Louis-Philippe Hébert (1850-1917) to whom are due the elegant decorative sculptures of 1889 on the Quebec Parliament. These include groups of bronze Indians of such flawless technique and of such Praxitelean beauty that they would seem much more at home in the Paris Opera than in the Canadian forest. Hébert also made several imposing monuments of *Queen Victoria* (at Ottawa, 1901, and Hamilton, 1907), the fine *Laval* and *Champlain* in Quebec, and the *Maisonnette* (1893) and *Edward VII* (1914) in Montreal—all examples of the Beaux-Arts elegance which was the artistic ideal of his generation.

Sculpture in the past three decades has barely advanced beyond the stylistic point reached by Hébert, while letting down the standards of technique. Ample proof of this was given by the recent national competition for a statue of Sir Robert Borden; the large proportion of the entries were ludicrous and proved, if anything, that monumental sculpture was a thing of the past. The only significant influence between 1880 and 1940 was the dubious one of *Art Nouveau*. Walter Allward's (1876-1955) *Baldwin and Lafontaine* monument in Ottawa (1908) with its willowy figures and very low curvilinear reliefs, and the same artist's immense *Vimy Ridge Memorial* (1924) in France stand as examples of this trend. The animal and landscape reliefs of Emanuel Hahn and his wife Elizabeth Wyn Wood provide an interesting parallel to the work of the Group of Seven in painting (which was also affected by *Art Nouveau*). The influence of the monumental European sculptors such as Meštrović and Milles came as a saving grace into the work of several other sculptors such as Suzor-Coté, Florence Wyle, Frances Loring

(winner of the Borden competition), and Jacobine Jones. But all in all, Canadian sculpture by 1940 had advanced but little beyond what could have been seen in the art magazines of 1900.

Since 1940, sculpture has taken comparatively little part in the lively modern movements in Montreal, Vancouver, and elsewhere. A few interesting contributions nevertheless stand out: the architectural sculpture of Armand Filion and Lionel Thomas, the expressive figures of Sybil Kennedy and Anne Kahane, and the abstractions of Elford Cox and Peter Sager. But the most significant figure is Louis Archambault of Montreal. Previously known for his ceramics, Archambault startled Montreal in 1950 with his huge *Oiseau de fer* (Plate IV), which was later shown in an outdoor exhibition at Battersea Park in London, there achieving fame enough to be the subject of a cartoon in *Punch*. Following his European trip in 1953-1954, he has developed his art in such a way as to preserve the primitive vigour of the earlier work while broadening its scope to include a variety of subject-matter, including the human figure.

Among the decorative arts of early Canada the ecclesiastical crafts quite naturally predominated. In several fields the products of colonial effort have proved upon recent scholarly examination to be of surprisingly high quality by European standards—a fact all the more remarkable when one considers that the colony had only some 60,000 inhabitants at the end of the French régime. This quality is supremely to be found in the earliest of all the crafts, embroidery, which was introduced by the nuns who arrived in Quebec during the 1630's. Two rich frontals, a very baroque one of the *Assumption* from the late seventeenth century (Ursuline Convent, Quebec) and the sumptuous one of the *Holy Ghost* (Musée Notre-Dame, Montreal) worked by the recluse Jeanne Le Ber in 1701, in gold, silver, and coloured threads, are two examples of great beauty. Folk embroidery and weaving also flourished in French Canada until quite recent times, and the tufted bedspreads with their pine-tree and other landscape motifs, the hooked rugs, and the *ceintures fléchées* are among



the most attractive folk art the country has produced. As in other countries, weaving has undergone a twentieth-century revival, but in the realm of textiles the most interesting development has been the production of a few hooked rugs made in the traditional way but designed by such contemporary painters as Alfred Pellán (Plate XIV). This practice was no doubt inspired by the modern renaissance of the tapestry in France under the stimulus of Lurçat and other artists; and in fact several designs by Canadians including Pellán, Robert La Palme, and Jean Dallaire have been carried out by the French tapestry makers.

Early Canadian silver was intended primarily for the church and reached its point of highest quality when François Rannoizé (1739-1819), Laurent Amyot (1764-1839), and other silversmiths made a successful and charming combination of traditional French designs and those of the English Regency, in a series of large pieces such as chalices and monstrances. Silver for secular use was also made, and examples from several regions have rightly become collectors' items and the subject of learned studies.<sup>22</sup> Silver in contemporary designs is again being produced in contemporary designs by several artists the most prominent of whom are Gilles Beaugrand of Montreal (known for his distinguished ecclesiastical pieces) and Harold Stacey of Toronto. Interesting work is now appearing also in enamel. In pottery the most prominent artists are Erica and Kjeld Deichmann, artists of Danish origin now living in New Brunswick, whose work has become widely known throughout the country for its fine shapes and its interesting variety of new glazes. Louis Archambault, the Montreal sculptor, also produces handsome ceramic dishes and figures. A few Canadian artists design for stained glass, but it is surprising that this and the other visual arts traditionally employed in church decoration have not, in a country so church-minded as Canada, attracted more talent or

<sup>22</sup> See Ramsay Traquair, *The Old Silver of Quebec* (1940); Harry Piers, *Master Goldsmiths and Silversmiths of Nova Scotia* (1948).

achieved the same standards of excellence as has, for example, the art of organ-building.

As opposed to the handicrafts, industrial design has become a serious consideration with us only within the last few years. The National Industrial Design Council was formed in 1948 under federal government auspices, in a move which was unique in North America. Also creating a precedent for its colleagues in other lands, the National Gallery of Canada in 1953 opened its Design Centre in Ottawa as an exhibition and information headquarters for a nation-wide program of encouragement to good design. The purpose of these activities was, however, not altogether altruistic, for they were intended not only to improve the aesthetic lot of Canadians but also to stimulate the export trade through the production of articles of good design which would hold their own in international markets. The Design Centre also encourages a variety of related endeavours such as architecture, town planning, and typography—the latter being an infant art in Canada, where the book trade has always been small and the aesthetics of printing and publishing largely ignored.

If sculpture and the decorative arts were the most prominent arts in early Canada, painting alone has enjoyed a position of importance in the post-Confederation period. For only after 1867 did Canada begin to forsake the backwaters of provincialism and attempt to swim in the full stream of western art.<sup>23</sup>

Yet painting had existed for two centuries previously, and even the briefest résumé of the background of modern painting must take early French Canada into account. The surprising development of sculpture in this period has already been noted, and though conditions in the small colony did not favour any such consistent development in painting, a few unexpected

<sup>23</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, paintings mentioned in the text are in the collection of the National Gallery of Canada.

treasures have recently been discovered.<sup>24</sup> These were not, however, among the numerous conventional religious pictures—which were usually copies furnished to churches in much the same way as altars or candlesticks. The most interesting paintings were the small votive pictures, a few examples of which still remain in churches where they were originally placed as thankofferings, usually for deliverance from shipwreck. One of the most charming is the *Votive of Madame Riverin* (Ste Anne-de-Beaupré), commissioned by the wife of a member of the Council who had survived a shipwreck in 1703. The anonymous painter represented her and her four children stiffly kneeling in a row before a figure of St. Anne. This and other votives differ from other early North American primitives not so much in essential style as in a certain richness of colour and in subject-matter: local happenings, local persons and scenes. The *Votive of the "Aimable Marthe"* (1747, Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, Quebec) (Plate V) represents the ship in a wide expanse of sea the waves of which are neatly patterned into long furrows; and the very primitive *Votive of the Three Survivors* (1754, Ste Anne-de-Beaupré) shows the end of the Ile d'Orléans near Quebec. Some interesting work also appeared amongst the portraits of early French Canadian worthies. These in general, in spite of differences in costume, resemble those of early New England in style, though portraits like the *Abbé de la Colombière* (1721, Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec) have a twinkle of French urbanity and shrewdness to set them apart from the grim Puritan divines seen in such portraits as the *John Cotton* (1670, Yale University) or the *John Davenport* (1670, Connecticut Historical Society).

<sup>24</sup> The only painter of the French régime with a claim to accomplishment of technique was Frère Luc (1614?–1685), a Recollect friar from Paris who lived in Canada in 1670–1671. A number of religious subjects have been attributed to him, and these reflect the influence of the Genoese school and that of Rubens. His most interesting work is an ambitious allegory, *France Bringing the Faith to the Indians* (Ursuline Convent, Quebec) with a Rubensian imperial figure representing France, a group of Indians, and a St. Lawrence River landscape in the background.

Painting did not show signs of emancipating itself from its purely functional role until after the conquest of New France. The little-known François Beaucourt (1740-1794), who apparently travelled in Europe as far as Russia, gave in his *Negro Servant* of 1786 (McCord National Museum, Montreal) one of the very few hints that Canada had any knowledge of eighteenth-century painting in France; the detail of the still life is vaguely Chardinesque and the warm colours are suggestive of Fragonard. It was also the first example in Canada of painting for its own sake—and the last for a long time afterwards.

The long period of Canada's artistic isolation from Europe after the Conquest of 1759 was at last ended by the action of two French *émigré* priests, the Abbés Philippe and Louis Desjardins, who between 1816 and 1821 imported a sizeable group of paintings from France and sold them to various churches and convents. Unfortunately they comprised little of real worth. Yet these European works had an immediate effect upon the Canadian painters of the early nineteenth century. One of these, the self-trained Joseph Légaré (1795-1855), was himself a collector of old pictures, and in his own paintings he adopted the landscape formula of the European schools of the seventeenth century. He produced some quite unique effects by combining the compositional patterns of Salvator Rosa with an otherwise quite primitive treatment of Canadian scenery in canvases like *The Falls of Saint-Ferréol* (c.1840, Quebec Museum). Légaré was the first teacher of Antoine Plamondon (1804-1895) who, after further studies in the studios of the Classicists in Paris, became the leading portrait painter of Quebec in the nineteenth century (Plate VI). Perhaps his most characteristic paintings are his portraits of nuns (*Sœur Saint-Alphonse*, 1841), which have the linear purity and limpid colours of an Ingres along with a typical Canadian restraint in composition and expression.

Plamondon's pupil, Théophile Hamel (1817-1870), whose studies were carried on in Paris after the Romanticists had won the day, brought to Quebec the influence of Delacroix, as is

seen in the *Self-portrait in the Studio* (1850?, Quebec Museum). But most interesting is his earlier work, before Paris, in which he blends with classicism of Plamondon the best features of folk painting. The portraits of this phase are simple in style and very shy in expression. Their combination of a naturally sensitive technique with a naïveté of expression often causes them unconsciously to approximate the effective simplicity of the early Italians (cf. *Madame Panet*, 1841, Quebec Museum) or of the early Goya (cf. *Léocadie Bilodeau and Her Dog*, 1842, Laval University). The numerous religious canvases of these painters were unfortunately almost all copies of famous masterpieces. Only the occasional one like Plamondon's *Création des animaux* (1880, Laval University) shows an original approach. In this amusing canvas the animals, including a kindly and venerable lion, emerge from the earth fully formed like badgers from their burrows.

English colonial painting, which naturally did not appear until after the middle of the eighteenth century, seems to have been much less a product of the soil than its counterpart in French Canada, although, as we have lately discovered, all country districts have produced their folk art, some good, some indifferent in quality. Apart from folk art, however, the main product of English Canada was portraits, most of which date after 1800. In the absence of professional painters there was apparently ample opportunity at this time for enterprising amateurs like Wilhelm von Moll Berczy (1748-1813), a Saxon land agent who took up architecture and painting after delivering a group of German settlers in Upper Canada. Moving to Quebec, Berczy was the painter of a lively conversation piece on the English pattern, *The Woolsey Family* (1809), with its chaste Regency interior rendered in intricate perspective and a fine view over the Quebec ramparts seen through the window.

The earliest painter in Nova Scotia was Robert Field (c. 1769-1819) who was also active in New York, Philadelphia, and Georgetown during his short American career (1794-1816).

Field's portraits (*Bishop John Inglis*, 1810, National Portrait Gallery, London) are evidence of his dependence on Gilbert Stuart and the English portrait painters. It is not until William Valentine (1798-1849) that we see the emergence of what may be called North American realism. When we consider the honesty of his *Self-portrait* of about 1845 (Nova Scotia Archives) it is no surprise to discover that he was a pioneer photographer.

A more typical and on the whole a finer product of the English colonies was the documentary picture. A number of topographical artists frequented Canada throughout this period, from 1759 until the middle of the nineteenth century. Usually they were military men, some of whom had no doubt been trained under Paul Sandby, the father of English landscape painting who taught at Woolwich between 1768 and 1799, to record their surroundings in the medium of water colour in the days before the photographic camera. Their works, which continue to turn up in various places, prove to have been quite numerous. At their worst, aesthetically, such paintings are valuable as historical material; at their best they are sensitive records of a place, a season, a time of day, of scenery, and of a community and its life. A very few are oil paintings, such as the atmospheric *View of Fredericton* (1823, Coverdale Collection), with its sleigh and its skaters on a frozen pond. But most are water colours, and the best of this genre were acquired by the National Gallery of Canada a year or two ago from the Earl of Derby's library. These are a landscape series by Lieutenant (later Lieutenant-General) Thomas Davies, an officer in General Amherst's army. Dating between 1755 and 1812, they illustrate the remarkable development of a sense of pattern, colour, and a feeling for the mystery of a scene only equalled by Rousseau le Douanier. Davies was probably the first to paint the brilliant colours of the Canadian autumn (Plate VIIa).

Following hard upon the topographical painters, who were birds of passage, several scenery painters settled down in Canada to paint the landscape in a more or less systematic way. The

best known of these were Paul Kane (1810-1871) and Cornelius Krieghoff (1815-1872). Kane, an amateur so ambitious as to be amusing, was the first example of that peculiarly Canadian artistic phenomenon, the strenuous sketcher. He was a prototype of the Group of Seven in that he made the first long painting trip. After brief travels in Europe (during which he at least saw the museums) Kane made the long trek from Toronto to the West Coast and back between 1846 and 1848 and on his return "painted up" his sketches in his studio—another practice which became a habit with the Group of Seven. His style was a mixture of many European ingredients. His landscapes of the Great Lakes, prairies, the Rockies, and the Pacific Coast he composed with the help of what he knew of Claude; his Indian groups such as the *Blackfoot Chiefs and Subordinates* are arranged in the monumental compositions of Raphael; and his Indian portraits bear the aristocratic features of the sitters of Reynolds and Raeburn.

Kriehoff's more limited parish was French Canada, where he arrived soon after 1840 and painted assiduously until the late 1860's. His hundreds of canvases large and small were eagerly bought up by English soldiers and travellers who took them back to England as souvenirs. They have been perennial items in the London auction rooms for many years. Krieghoff's early life in Europe appears to have been passed as a wandering musician and artist and probably included some study in Holland, where he learned to animate his pictures with many figures and much detail, and at the popular Düsseldorf Academy, which taught him to stage-dress and dramatize them elaborately. Thus his canvases of *habitant* life present a highly coloured aspect of Canada which has never appealed to the French Canadian. Perhaps Krieghoff's most interesting works to us today are his portraits (*John Budden*, c.1855, coll. Mrs. Esmond Peck) and his pictures of early steamships (*The "Quebec,"* 1853, coll. Dr. W. R. Franks) and railway trains which he painted with an enthusiastic eye for microscopic detail. A lesser-known con-

temporary of Kane and Krieghoff was Robert Whale (1805-1887) of Brantford, who made use of the styles of Wilson and Turner to paint his mid-century Ontario townscapes. Recently a series of railway pictures by him (*The Canada Southern at Niagara*, c.1870) have been discovered, as well as several curious idyllic figure-pieces in which nymphs disport themselves in rural Ontario settings.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Canadian painting more nearly approximated that of the United States. For almost forty years after Confederation, art movements in the two countries were practically identical. The picturesque naturalism of the Hudson River School found a parallel in the work of Allan Edson (1846-1888), who painted his romantic landscapes in the Eastern Townships of Quebec during the 1870's. Then followed the photographic realism of painters like Lucius R. O'Brien (1832-1899), first president of the Royal Canadian Academy and art editor of that monumental work, *Picturesque Canada*, published in 1882. O'Brien's was an honest, *ad hoc* sort of painting, and when this engineer-turned-artist painted his landscapes of the interior of Canada he left the beholder in no doubt of those features of the scene which might be exploited commercially. Yet his paintings, like those of John A. Fraser (1838-1898), have the same sturdy compositional patterns which characterize the work of other members of his generation such as Winslow Homer. Fraser, who painted in the Rocky Mountains at the time when the Canadian Pacific Railway made its famous conquest of the Rogers Pass in 1885, reflects in his golden colours the boundless optimism of the railway age.

For the student, nineteenth-century painting in Canada holds several striking contradictions: progress *versus* traditionalism and realism *versus* idealism. Such a painter as Homer Watson (1855-1936) began in the 1880's by painting a series of honest landscapes (*On the Grand River*, c.1883) of the pioneer southern Ontario country, much in the mood of the early George Inness (Plate VIIb). Later, however, Watson came to feel a sense of



inadequacy and during the 1890's overstrained himself in trying to live up to a chance remark of Oscar Wilde's that he was the "Canadian Constable." Thus he essayed a richness of technique and a poesy of content which he was incapable of realizing in his ambitious works with their heavy impasto. His contemporary, Horatio Walker (1858-1938), who began his career by painting landscape under the gentle influence of Corot, had by the 1890's settled down on the Ile d'Orléans to paint his peasant subjects in the heavily romantic poetry-of-the-soil manner of Millet and Troyon. For this style he became immensely popular, especially in the United States. The little-known Ludger Larose (1868-1915) was a younger contemporary whose few known early works indicated a better colour sense than either Watson or Walker possessed (*Saint-Faustin*, 1899, Quebec Museum). They have overtones which express the loneliness of the Canadian landscape in a quiet manner which foretells that of Goodridge Roberts in our own day. Needless to say, there were also a number of other painters who merely satisfied the predilection of the time for fragile figure subjects and for ornate allegorical and historical machines.

The first considerable figures in Canadian painting appeared just before the turn of the century. With but one exception these had received their first stimulus from French Impressionism, for all had studied in Paris. Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Coté (1869-1937) and Maurice Cullen (1866-1934) were notable as the first to apply the light-filled manner of the Impressionists to the painting of the Canadian landscape. They were responsible for the consequent and rather surprising revelation of the clear and brilliant colours of our landscape, which were not at all the gentle ones of the European countryside. Cullen, the beginning of whose career was marked by canvases of the excellence of *Old Houses, Montreal* (1897, Montreal Museum; Plate VIII), an atmospheric night scene in the spirit of Pissarro, ended by producing a series of rather stereotyped, flat mountain landscapes which perhaps were prompted by the aesthetics of

a younger generation. Suzor-Coté's work includes some fine landscapes and *habitant* portraits, the subjects also of his sculptures and of some fine drawings. But unfortunately he also indulged in large and boring history-pieces.

Ozias Leduc (1864-1955), the recluse-painter of Saint-Hilaire near Montreal, has recently been recognized as one of the most remarkable figures of this period. That he is only now coming to public attention is due to the fame of his pupil Paul-Emile Borduas. Leduc's early work consisted of small still-life subjects painted in a romantic *trompe l'oeil* manner (*Trois pommes*, 1887, coll. P. E. Borduas) and of extremely sensitive, quiet, and precise portraits which make him appear as a sort of Gallic Thomas Eakins (*Madame Lebrun*, 1899, coll. Paul Gouin). Leduc went to Paris in 1897, but he turned for inspiration to the religious art of Maurice Denis and Georges Desvallières rather than to the Impressionists. After a short time he returned to Canada to spend a lifetime in pious retirement, known only to an intimate circle of friends. He decorated some thirty Quebec churches in a style which sometimes seemed to hover at the brink of sentimentality but actually never went beyond the bounds of a genuinely lyric mysticism. This same poetic feeling permeated his later figure-pieces and landscapes as well as the religious murals, the preparatory drawings for which perhaps best convey his ideal of pure, almost musical beauty. A fourth member of this generation was Ernest Lawson (1873-1939), a native of Halifax who, by reason of long residence in the United States and his participation in the New York group called The Eight, is better known as an American painter. Lawson had more in common with Maurice Prendergast than with the rest of The Eight, sharing with him in particular the "European" preference for pure colour as the basis for picture-making. Lawson was popularly known for the "jewelled palette" which distinguished him from the more Fauvist Prendergast. In his work, too, there was a poetic streak which set him quite apart from any American or French artist.

This romantic undercurrent was what French critics professed to see in the art of James Wilson Morrice (1865-1925). A Montrealer by birth, he spent most of his life abroad, and though he periodically returned to paint in Canada he was essentially an expatriate. Imbued as he was with art for art's sake, he could not have existed in the Canada of his time. On making his escape to Europe in 1890, he found his first inspiration in Whistler, and in the 1890's he painted a series of delicate Whistlerian symphonies of the quays of the Seine. Later, his landscapes of the coast of Brittany and of Venice assumed a pure flowing beauty by which he outdid his more famous friend the English painter Charles Conder. Later still, he became associated with the painters of the Fauve group—Matisse and Marquet were among his friends—and he ended his career by composing in the simplest patterns and in clear, light colours. This superbly decorative style is seen in his occasional Quebec and Montreal canvases as well as in the more numerous ones of North Africa or the West Indies (Plate IX); but it made little difference where they were painted, for the style was the same. The influence of Morrice as the archetype of pure painting has been very considerable ever since in Canada, in spite of his absence from the country. Despite his complete lack of regionalism he was the first important influence upon A. Y. Jackson, one of the leaders of the Group of Seven. The Montreal School of the 1940's quite naturally adopted him as the early prophet of their ideals.

The generation which followed Morrice was the first to strive consciously for Canadianism in art; and for this reason I have given the work of these younger painters the general designation of the National Movement. Born in the 1870's and 80's, they grew up at the beginning of the new century, just at the time when the "Child of Nations" was just beginning to flex its muscles. They began their work a little before World War I, and their striving for national independence in art was a prophecy of that awakening of the national consciousness which was

for Canadians the most important result of the conflict. These painters also had before them the example of a Canadian school of nature poets, including Sir Charles Roberts, Bliss Carman, Archibald Lampman, and Duncan Campbell Scott, who had been active since before 1890.

The most effective of the new painters were a group which began to gather in Toronto about 1910. The eldest was J. E. H. MacDonald (1873-1932), whose style had its roots in an indigenous Canadianism which had grown up amongst a circle of minor artists working in Toronto since 1900. MacDonald's earlier work included southern Ontario landscapes like his *Spring Breezes*, *High Park* (1912). These show him to have profited by the luminosity of Impressionism, but basically they are honest and direct landscapes saturated by a Thoreau-like poetry of nature. The young and dynamic Lawren Harris, fresh from his *wanderjahre* in Europe and the United States, had returned to Toronto in 1910 to paint its shabbier streets in what was scornfully called a "socialistic" manner. By 1912 these had attracted others, including two recent arrivals from England, Arthur Lismer and Frederick H. Varley. Harris' enthusiasm persuaded A. Y. Jackson of Montreal to give up his plans for disappearing into the United States and to come to Toronto in 1913. Jackson in his turn inspired the self-trained painter Tom Thomson (1877-1917) to develop his talent. In the last year or two before the war the friends made their first sketching trips to Algonquin Park in northern Ontario. Here, in what they soon came to consider the most Canadian part of Canada, they took up the challenge offered by the great expanses of rough stony country and the great forests on which the passing seasons wrought such startling changes of colour. Their common answer to this challenge was to create emphatic flat patterns of brilliant colours. In adopting this solution they were conscious of breaking new ground, but they were not uninfluenced by what they must have seen in the art magazines of the period—and what they did in fact see in an exhibition at Buffalo in 1913—

the Scandinavian version of *Art Nouveau*, or *Jugendstil*, the general period style of the years around 1900 (Plate Xa). Thus, for instance, in Thomson's large canvases appear the long, trailing tendrils of foliage which are the universal trademark of *Art Nouveau*; one, *The Pool* (1916?) is in fact so close to a tapestry design, *Spruce Coppice*, by the Swedish artist Henrik Krogh reproduced in colour in *Studio* for 1913,<sup>25</sup> as to leave little doubt as to its source of inspiration. The other influences upon them were general ones from Impressionism and Post-impressionism. But influences aside—and no artist can develop in a vacuum—they had begun to work with an almost religious fervour in the North Country when war broke out in 1914 and caused the new movement to collapse. Several of the group went to war and others to different parts of the country; and Thomson was mysteriously drowned in Algonquin Park in 1917.

After the war the remaining members assembled in Toronto to take up where they had left off. They prepared their first exhibition in 1920, naming themselves for this occasion the Group of Seven.<sup>26</sup> They found the cultural climate of Canada somewhat changed. Prewar Canadianism had suffered a setback from the wartime imperialism which was almost universal in parts of Canada, and the reception which the Group of Seven got in Toronto was mainly hostile. Hostility, however, only encouraged them to paint the large, assertive exhibition pieces of 1921, such as Lismer's *September Gale*, Varley's *Georgian Bay*, and MacDonald's *Solemn Land*. With their simple compositional formula of tree against sky, water, and distant hills, these are pictures which are easy to remember and have etched themselves into the minds of all Canadians. The National Gallery officials of that time encouraged the Group by sending its paintings to exhibitions abroad and by diffusing at home the favour-

<sup>25</sup> LVIII (March 1913), 109.

<sup>26</sup> The original members were MacDonald, Harris, Jackson, Lismer, Varley, Franklin Carmichael (1890-1945), and Franz Johnston (1888-1949) who shortly dropped out.

able comment which they received in other countries, as well as by collecting and by reproducing the pictures in colour. Thus stimulated, the Group began to broaden out its activities. Lawren Harris (with Jackson) was the first to travel into other parts of the country and to find such dramatic subjects as *Maligne Lake* (1924) in the Rocky Mountains; he also began to develop his art toward the quasi-abstract, high-keyed manner (Plate Xb) which led him to nature mysticism and eventually to pure abstraction. Jackson first visited the Arctic in 1927, there discovering the new colour schemes characteristic of the region which are seen in his *North Shore, Baffin Island* (1930, North York Collegiate Institute, Toronto). This Canadianism was contagious, and by 1926 the Group of Seven was admitting new members,<sup>27</sup> who made its name an anomaly. In 1933 the Group merged itself in a new organization, the Canadian Group of Painters.

But the Group of Seven never included all the significant painters of its generation. Two in the province of Quebec, who never adopted its formulas, nevertheless participated in the national, or perhaps more properly called the regional, enthusiasms which it had aroused. One was Clarence A. Gagnon (1881-1942), who returned from his long stays in France to pass considerable intervals at Baie Saint Paul on the St. Lawrence, painting the landscape and village life in a decorative, story-book manner. Close to Gagnon in style was Albert H. Robinson, who at times was associated with A. Y. Jackson. The colour patterns of both these painters are evidence that their chief inspiration came from Morrice's Canadian landscapes.

Three other contemporaries stood farther apart from the nationalist majority, though one was to come into the Group of Seven's orbit late in life. John Lyman, a pupil of Matisse, has always been loyal to the French ideal of pure painting. He was on hand in 1939 in Montreal to inspire the rise of the modern

<sup>27</sup> A. J. Casson (1926), Edwin H. Holgate (1931), L. L. FitzGerald (1932).

movement and to be hailed as its chief apostle. Like those of Morrice, Lyman's landscapes, whether they were of the West Indies, southern France, or Canada, always possessed the "eternal" qualities of design, composition, and harmony of colour; and always they avoided the ephemeral and disturbing element of regionalism.

The case of Emily Carr (1871-1945) was different. Emerging from the enforced isolation of a spinsterhood spent in Victoria, she went to Paris in 1910 and received her first impetus from the Fauves and from one of their followers Frances Hodgkins, the New Zealand painter. She then returned to paint the Indian villages of the West Coast in a spirited and colourful manner. But many years of neglect discouraged her, and during the 1920's she almost ceased to paint. On her first visit to eastern Canada in 1927 she met the Group of Seven in Toronto and was shocked into action on seeing the large canvases of Lawren Harris. Returning, she began to paint on a grand scale in the austere manner, using totem poles as motifs for canvases such as *Blunden Harbour* (1928) (Plate XI). In the years following, her art underwent a phenomenal development (probably affected somewhat by contact with Mark Tobey of Seattle) which gave evidence of the liberation of an extremely ardent spirit. In her large oil-on-paper "sketches," the trees of the fertile rain forest began to spiral and to sway as if to express an immense fertility and an irresistible inner movement. An ultimate still point of serenity was reached in the late seascapes, and by the time of her death at seventy-four she was at the apex of this surge of creativeness.

The third independent contemporary of the Group of Seven has come to be regarded as the greatest single figure of his generation. David Milne (1882-1953) was totally different from all his contemporaries who, in their turn, could never understand him. He was a quiet-mannered country schoolteacher who decided to become a painter in 1904 and left his remote Ontario village to study in New York. There he was influenced by the

work of Maurice Prendergast and probably also by what he saw in the Armory Show of 1913, at which he himself was an exhibitor. His early paintings are strongly Fauvist, though (paradoxically) from the earliest years they also show a strong individuality. This individuality increased throughout his life, which was spent mainly in seclusion. Leaving New York in 1915 because of poverty, he settled at Boston Corner in the Berkshire Hills and there painted a series of landscapes in oils (*Boston Corner*, 1917) and in dry-brush water colour. In these, decorative pattern and sensitive drawing are happily wedded. He employed the same style in an exquisite series of water colours of England, France, and Flanders, painted for the Canadian War Memorials in 1918 and 1919: the only changes were those of coloration in the landscapes and of details such as the shapes of English as opposed to American elms! He returned from the war to settle again at Boston Corner. After a winter (1923-1924) spent in Ottawa and Montreal, he moved in 1924 to the Adirondacks, where his style became freer—more linear and less obviously patterned. The range of his colours was so limited at this time that his paintings became almost monochromes (*Roofs, Glenmore Hotel*, 1927, coll. Douglas Duncan).

In 1928 Milne returned to Canada for good, after an absence of twenty-four years. His first long stop was in the county town of Palgrave near Toronto, where he lived until 1932 and in a burst of energy painted a series of farm- and townscapes in which a curious colour chord of orange-red, black, and white gradually came to predominate. This is seen in many of the group of paintings which Milne's first patron, the Hon. Vincent Massey (now governor general of Canada) bought during the 1930's. One of the finest canvases of this middle period, also in the Massey collection, is, however, not wholly characteristic of this colour scheme. *Painting Place* (Plate XII) was begun in the Adirondacks and only finished at Palgrave in 1930; it has a compelling black foreground of trees and painting materials set against a very lightly coloured lake and hills behind. The dry-



point in greens which Milne made of the same subject is a reminder of another important phase of his activity. The dry-points with their ultimate delicacy and fastidiousness are perhaps the finest graphic works ever produced in Canada.

While continuing to paint in oils during the Six-Mile Lake (1932-1939) and Uxbridge-Haliburton (1940-1952) periods, Milne resumed in 1937 the painting of water colours which he had given up in 1925. His development of this medium is the most remarkable event of his later life. Using it with great energy, freedom, and economy from the start, he developed it into an extremely sensitive tool for expressing his emotional response to nature. He could be amusing and imaginative, as in the fantasies (*The Saint*, 1943); festive, as in the rich still life subjects of 1946 (*Glass Candlestick*, coll. Norman Endicott); poetic in an Oriental sense, as in the landscapes; or strong, as in *Bay Street at Night* (1941, coll. Douglas Duncan). With Morrice, Milne was one of the two Canadians who came closest to being "pure" painters.

Contemporary painters and art movements are notoriously difficult to assess. In attempting this, as I must, one runs the same risks as in making a collection of current art. In twenty years or less a reaction sets in which seems to set at nought the judgements of today; another twenty years may pass before it is admitted that the choices had any worth at all; and after fifty years the circle will be complete when someone proclaims the works to be treasures. Even if he be fully aware of this and the other obstacles in the way of the contemporary historian (including his own personal preferences or blind spots), the writer is still faced with the bewildering complexity which exists today in art movements even in the limited field of Canadian art. Probably the most one can hope to do in a brief account such as this is to indicate the main categories into which painting today seems to fall.

One category of recent art, the representational, is an obvious

one. As might have been expected, a number of our painters who grew up during the heyday of the Group of Seven have carried on the Group's regional type of expression along newer lines, above all toward a greater subjectivity and simplicity. The Winnipeg painter, L. L. FitzGerald, who became a junior member of the Group of Seven in 1932, adopted as the basis of his art a most precise draughtsmanship and a complete realism of approach. Thus his style was quite in contrast to the boldly patterned work of the Group. His subjects were Winnipeg backyards (*Doc Snider's House*, 1931), a far cry from the stark northern scenes of the Group of Seven. FitzGerald has never attempted to create any such midwestern regional style as flourished in the United States; his art is too mathematical and personal for that. It is always, however, strongly suggestive of the clear, frosty air and the spaciousness of his region.

A similar though less cerebral precision appears in Charles Comfort, who, in works of the mid-1930's such as the handsome *Tadoussac* (1935, coll. H.E. the Governor General), goes on to refashion his subjects drastically into strong, simple plastic arrangements suggestive of architectural models or of modern machine design. In doing this he did not mean to destroy the regional character of his subjects but rather, by reducing the landscape to its bare essentials of shape, rhythm, and contour, to strengthen the impact. Comfort's work at this time had the effect of enhancing the fundamental realities of a particular region in a very powerful way which approached surrealism. Still another representative of this representational category illustrates another path which was open to those who grew out of the Group of Seven. Carl Schaefer's water colours of the Ontario farmland not only represent a more familiar aspect of the landscape than the lonely North but also, through the gentler medium, add the element of mood and expression. The road from regionalism to abstraction, already plotted out by Lawren Harris, led in Schaefer to the production of such dramatic works as his war painting *Searchlight, Battle of Britain*

(1943), which achieves monumentality without sacrifice of meaning.

Yet another avenue is open to painters of representational inspiration, though relatively few have chosen it. In a series of pageants and religious subjects painted in the 1930's, Jean-Paul Lemieux of Quebec has placed his figures in settings inspired in part by the fairy-tale villages of Clarence Gagnon but mainly by the Italian Primitives and the folk painters. Like these, he manipulated perspective and proportion to suit his purpose, and also gave his subjects a sort of surrealist intensity. Another painter, Edward J. Hughes of Vancouver Island, has also invested his landscapes of the West Coast with the dreamlike clarity seen in the work of modern primitives like Henri Rousseau.

A few of our still rare figure painters also provide evidence of this broadening-out of representational painting. During the 1920's artists had been too preoccupied with landscape to pay much attention to the figure, Varley being the one exception within the Group of Seven. Edwin H. Holgate, a junior member of that group, painted figures in the same simplified and monumental manner which the others had reserved for landscape. His *Ludovine* (1930, coll. H.E. the Governor General) was conceived in terms of broad masses and a few stressed forms, and the whole was deliberately made symbolic of a national "type," the French-Canadian girl. More universal in their appeal are the recent figure pieces of Alexander Colville of New Brunswick, such as *Child and Dog* (1952). These have such a wonderful precision of line and exactitude of modelling in high-keyed tones that they also assume a heightened reality.

A second general category of contemporary painting in Canada is that created by an unorganized but none the less articulate group of painters in Montreal. These have been responsible for the most spectacular movement in Canadian art between 1940 and 1955. The influence of Morrice and Lyman

upon this group has already been suggested; and following the lead of these pioneers the young Montreal artists strongly reacted against regionalism. They set about to make their art universal and aesthetic rather than particular and illustrative. Their appeal was to the eye and to the aesthetic sense rather than to patriotism and geography, or as Lyman has expressed this rather obvious truth, "Tradition does not come from rocks and trees: it comes from the hearts and minds of men." Thus the paintings of the Montreal School were sometimes monumental, sometimes decorative, and sometimes poetic arrangements of colour and shapes; but always the subject-matter was only the starting point. Often it was only an excuse—if there were any subject at all.

Like the school of Paris, the Montreal School has painted the human figure consistently and thus broken new ground in Canada. But they used the figure chiefly as a means of working out problems of form. The earlier figure-pieces of Goodridge Roberts such as the *Marian* of 1939 (coll. Maurice Corbeil; Plate XIII) expressed no particular regional or personal peculiarities, for Roberts was not primarily interested in these things. Rather they were exercises in the relationships of form to form, of colour to colour. The same was true of Roberts' treatment of still life, another of the stock subjects of western painting hitherto neglected in Canada. A tabletop, teapot, and fruit merely provided him with a series of varied objects to be organized into architectonic forms and a harmonious composition, as Cézanne had done before him. A difference is, however, to be seen in Roberts' attitude toward the landscape. Some of his landscapes, especially water colours such as *Lake Orford* (1945), have the eternal calm of a Cézanne or a Claude; for as his pupil Jacques de Tonnancour once said, "His landscapes sleep in time." But this does not mean that a feeling for the subject is absent; it is all the more deeply felt for being very subtly expressed. Indeed, the inner, essential nature of the

Canadian environment and the Canadian temperament is nowhere so well expressed as in Roberts' work, except in that of Borduas.

The impact of the giants of French painting has been felt in Montreal. The late Père Couturier, well-known French critic and friend of Matisse, Rouault, and others, spent the war years as a refugee in Montreal and had considerable influence in transmitting their contribution to Canada. Among the painters Alfred Pellán was most important in linking Canada with contemporary European art. He stands out by reason of the bold modern note he has injected into Canada since his return from Paris in 1940. In Paris he had participated in the abstract and surrealist movements, winning a prize for mural decoration in 1935. Works of that period, such as *La Bouche rieuse* (1935) clearly reflect the influence of Miró and Léger among others. His style was a jolly Surrealism with none of the sinister undertones of Max Ernst or André Masson. This infusion of French flair into Canadian art was an event of the first importance, offering as it did a direct challenge to staid Canadian ways (Plate XIV). Yet Pellán was also responsible for a series of fine portraits (*Portrait de femme*, c.1937, coll. Joseph Barcelo) which, in spite of various and obvious influences from Derain, Picasso, and Negro sculpture, have an underlying quality that conforms to the old Canadian tradition of restraint and sobriety, as found in Ozias Leduc. Pellán is also known for a fine series of bold figure drawings which are among his most monumental productions, and he has designed brilliantly for the theatre in Montreal. About 1945—to cite an example of his great determination—Pellán and his supporters laid siege to the stubbornly conservative Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Montreal. He shortly succeeded in dethroning its academic director and in setting himself up in his place. The large and riotous *Surprise académique* (coll. Maurice Corbeil) which includes a buffoon (the former director?) and a rising giant (Pellán?) is a souvenir of the fracas. During his years at the Beaux-Arts he stimulated much

of the talent of French Canada which so long had lain fallow, and he became the head of a small group known as the "Prisme d'Yeux." Recently he has again spent several years in Paris, where he was the first Canadian to hold a one-man exhibition at the Musée d'Art Moderne, but at the time of writing he is again in Montreal. Perhaps expatriation is not so easy for Canadians as it once was.

Jacques de Tonnancour has felt the influence both of Pellan and of his original teacher Goodridge Roberts. His early landscapes in sombre greens and blacks (*Sous-bois*, 1941) owe a considerable debt to Roberts, but from the start they have an energy which contrasts with the lassitude of Roberts. His portraits and still life of the later 1940's (*Rubber Plant*, 1948, Art Gallery of Toronto), in spite of a sharpish, distinctive colour chord, testify to the overwhelming influence of contemporary French painting. So great was his obsession with Matisse and Picasso that (as he freely confesses) he had to stop painting for several years in order to free himself. Only recently has he taken up where he left off and begun again to paint landscapes in the earlier style.

Of the others in Pellan's immediate following there is space to mention only one or two. The caricaturist Robert La Palme has freely adapted this lively style to design his tapestries and his backdrops for the Fridolin revues (Plate XV) and to make his caricatures for the newspapers. Léon Bellefleur, a self-trained painter inspired by Pellan, has become a full-fledged surrealist of the involved, André Masson variety, though his rich colours and the touch of lively humour give his art a definite individuality.

Paul-Emile Borduas headed a separate *coterie* in Montreal, "Les Automatistes," a group of painters who chose a more radical path than Pellan's group. In true Paris fashion they issued in 1948 an anarchistic general manifesto which resulted in Borduas' prompt dismissal from a provincial government teaching post. Once they invaded the formal opening of an exhibition

at the Montreal Museum, wearing rough clothes and carrying rude banners. Borduas himself began in Saint Hilaire as a pupil of Ozias Leduc and later studied in Paris. His earlier work (*La Cavale infernale*, 1943, coll. Luc Choquette) shows the effect which the European Expressionists and Surrealists had upon him by their atavism of subject-matter and expression. But his later works (*Sous le vent de l'île*, c.1950) constitute a more personal surrealism in which rhythmic forms and harmonious colours are combined in free, "musical" relationships without reference to subject-matter. This was true "automatic painting," because it proceeded, according to the theory of André Breton, from the subconscious. Picture titles were added only after the work had been completed and were suggested by the forms resulting from the automatic process. Whatever may now be said of nonobjective art (which became the universal period style of the 1940's), the fact remains that Borduas' canvases of that period, with their deep colours and complicated forms, suggest an extraordinary insight into the nature of Canada and the Canadian environment (Plate XVI). The mood they evoke fits well with what I have heard Borduas say in his Saint Hilaire studio about the frustrations of being an artist in this sombre, self-conscious, young-old country. In 1953 he gave up the struggle and went to New York, and there his canvases took on a lightness of colour and tone and an effervescence which indicated an immediate response to the new surroundings. At the time of writing he has gone once more to Paris, and the results of yet another environment will be interesting to watch.

Borduas' following in Montreal includes several interesting painters who carry on this lyric and nonobjective style in different ways. In the paintings and etchings of Albert Dumouchel, mysterious figures loom out of a dark, richly involved background—figures often suggestive of dim prehistory (*Les Bubons du soleil*, 1953). The work of Jean-Paul Riopelle, the current sensation of Paris and New York, has been hailed

by the critics at the Venice Biennale of 1954 as the ultimate to which nonobjective painting can aspire. He paints mural-sized canvases (*Knight Watch*, 1953; Plate XVII) on which the pigment is exceedingly thickly applied in dazzling flashes of brilliant colours against a dark, tangled background. These have the power of evoking kaleidoscopic images of things seen from the air or under water or through the microscope; explosions or the bombardment of the atom—and curiously enough they may strike one as superbly festive and highly disturbing at the same time.

Stanley Cosgrove, usually considered one of the Montreal School, is set apart by his early training, for he was once associated with Orozco in Mexico. Like Goodridge Roberts, he seeks formal relationships within the limitations of classical subject-matter—the figure, the still life, and the landscape. The early still-life compositions (*The Milk Jug*, 1943) have affinities with Braque—for Cosgrove also has an uncanny sense for the rightness of the placing of objects in a composition. The many landscapes of Mount Royal showing a clump of trees constitute a series of compositional variations on a theme: they exemplify his powerful use of line and his light, chalky “southern” colours, but, most important of all, his amplitude and balance of form. His later figure painting (Plate XVIII), which combines strength and delicacy, has recently achieved monumentality in a religious mural, *Wisdom* (1954), commissioned by the Collège de Saint-Laurent, Montreal.

My third and final category of contemporary painters is intended simply to be inclusive of all remaining significant painters in various parts of the country. These, for the sake of convenience, I have discussed geographically. They include the members of several new and interesting groups which are now appearing in various cities as well as a number of independents who are connected with no particular school or group. It should be pointed out that locale sometimes makes a difference in art nowadays but usually does not.



In general, the independents are to be found mostly in eastern Canada and the newer schools in the central and western parts. The trend observed today as we travel from east to west is for interest to mount the farther west we go. In this connection, however, it is only fair to state that the various regions tend to change quickly in the amount of interesting painting they produce, and the city which today has a significant group of artists may see it dispersed tomorrow.

Painting in the Maritime Provinces covers a wide variety of styles, from the gently cubist landscapes of Jack Humphrey to the angular abstractions of Lawren Harris, Jr., and including the sensitive figures of Robert Annand, the disturbing dreams of Miller Brittain, and the magic realism of Alexander Colville.

In the city of Quebec, previously known for its conservatism in art, a gratifying upsurge of painting has occurred in the last year or two which is exemplified by Claude Picher and, among others by the very young and versatile Edmund Alleyn, winner of the 1955 *Concours Artistique* sponsored by the province of Quebec. Alleyn's work is refreshingly original, characterized as it is by very strong constructive patterns and a free handling of paint, and yet basically controlled by nature.

Montreal, in addition to the School already described, has room also for a number of painters who have been more or less independent of the main movements. Marian Scott has developed a style more akin to contemporary English painting than to French, by virtue of its gentleness and romanticism. Her abstractions are often inspired by science: embryology, spectroscopy, geology, and the like. Louis Muhlstock's Montreal street scenes indicate another trend, for they convey not only actual appearances but also the mood of urban loneliness and desolation evoked by contemplation of the subject. This vein of expressionism is more apparent in the forceful work of Fritz Brandtner, especially in *City from a Night Train* (1947), a handsome pattern of flashing, angular forms and intense colours, recalling an early connection with the German Expressionists

in his native Danzig and expressing a sense of the excitement and complexity of life in a great city.

In Ottawa two artists, Henri Masson and Pegi Nicol MacLeod (1904-1949), invented a lively modern method of painting local genre such as street games, country dances, skating, and street processions, by the use of flashing lights and agitated forms. Lillian Freiman, who now lives in New York, also paints genre but does so under the gentle inspiration of Degas. Her best works are her charming studies of street musicians. André Biéler, of Kingston, was also inspired by genre in his earlier water colours such as those of country elections and the like. Jean-Philippe Dallaire, who now works for the National Film Board in Montreal and has produced a series of lively filmstrips, spent his formative years in Paris evidently under the influence of Lurçat. Recently he has begun to paint on a large scale in a style notable for its combination of realism and a humorous surrealism (*Seated Woman*, 1955).

Toronto, the centre of art activity in Canada during the ascendancy of the National Movement, has never quite recovered her position of leadership. In spite of this fact, a number of significant painters are now active there, including, in addition to Charles Comfort and Carl Schaefer already mentioned, several who are outstanding for personal styles characterized by fine sensibility. One is the unprolific Will Ogilvie, whose style is quiet and subtle. Yet for all their fastidiousness of drawing and their soft colours, his paintings have a controlled strength. A distinguished series of war paintings (*Bombed Houses, Caen*, 1944) illustrate the lyric beauty which he, like David Milne before him, was able to find even amid the destruction of war. Like Ogilvie, Jack Nichols also possesses an "inner" quality, but his paintings and drawings of figures are distinguished by a mystery and sadness inspired by El Greco or the early Picasso.

It is only recently that the great international movements have taken root in Toronto. The one exception to this rule

was a strange, untrained artist active there in the 1940's. Scottie Wilson combined abstraction and expressionism in a novel way. Assorted elements went into the creation of his curious drawings: Indian porcupine-quill work, the rococo outlines of the antique furniture in his furniture shop and, above all, his own vivid imagination and primitive vitality. Scottie Wilson was discovered and encouraged by Douglas Duncan (the patron of David Milne). After the war he went to England, where he made an immediate sensation, because the atavism of his subject-matter placed him close in spirit to Paul Klee and other contemporary favourites, and yet at the same time he was so original. Scottie Wilson's name was made by an article on him in *Horizon*,<sup>28</sup> which was referred to by Evelyn Waugh in the opening passages of *The Loved One*.

Out-and-out abstraction has recently appeared in the work of a new Toronto group, the Painters Eleven. These comprise a variety of painters such as Kazuo Nakamura, whose style is extremely delicate and monochromatic; William Ronald, who paints large-scale abstractions in brilliant colours; Harold Town, who is known for boldly conceived colour lithographs as well as paintings; and Tom Hodgson, whose emphatic patterns are based on lanterns, wagons, and other such material heretofore unexploited.<sup>29</sup>

Painting today flourishes in the Prairie Provinces in spite of the many and obvious handicaps to art in this region of immense distances and small towns. In Winnipeg the most important influence recently is that of Joe Plaskett, a young Vancouver painter who taught there for several years and got

<sup>28</sup> By E. L. T. Messens, *Horizon*, vol. XIII (June 1946).

<sup>29</sup> The other members are Jack Bush, Oscar Cahén, Hortense Gordon, Alexandra Luke, J. W. G. Macdonald, Ray Mead, and W. Hawley Yarwood. Several Toronto painters including York Wilson and Leonard Brooks have added Mexican styles and techniques to the assortment of influences now operative in Toronto, while several accomplished illustrators including Jack Bush and William Winter have concentrated upon genre.

a small movement under way. Plaskett's own work, with its gentle melancholy, delicacy, and strange iridescent colours, itself developed considerably during his recent travels in Europe. The works of his pupil Takao Tanabe appear to be "automatic" until one realizes that they are filled with suggestions of pine forests and the reflections of mountain lakes. In Regina, Kenneth Lochhead has developed a lively and original style which involves figures set on the plain in a way which suggests the strange reality of a prairie mirage. In Calgary, the townscapes of Roy Kiyooka, the festive mountain scenes of Janet Mitchell, and the expressive figures of Maxwell Bates are further examples of the new vitality of art in the West, while the cosmopolitan Roloff Beny has covered many miles from his native Lethbridge without forgetting the clear air, endless spaces, and the sparkling nights of the prairie.

When we finally reach Vancouver on the West Coast, we witness the climax of recent art in Canada. In this airy and magnificent setting a most active school of painting has arisen during the past ten years. The superbly decorative marine abstractions of B. C. Binning (with some affinities to Ben Nicholson, Paul Klee, and Miró; Plate XIX) and the somewhat quieter but more complex ones of John Korner (somewhat influenced by the De Stijl group in Holland) have been used by several architects to good effect as mural decorations. The painters themselves have proven themselves versatile by designing houses (Binning) or executing architectural sculpture (Lionel Thomas).

The majority of the younger Vancouver painters, however, derive from the "animist" manner developed by Jack Shadbolt, who, as the most influential teacher, may be considered the leader of the Vancouver School. His paintings, like those of his American West Coast contemporary Morris Graves, are alive with animal or organic forms. In some, there are close-up views of grasses and sticks which are made to become symbols of life, in somewhat the manner of the strange primitive symbols of Paul Klee, but with a vitality which allies them to the plant

studies of Graham Sutherland. Others of his paintings, seeming abstractions, are in reality composed of many tiny interwoven details of living things. In close sympathy with Shadbolt is Bruno Bobak, who is also obsessed with vegetable life and plant growth. His wife Molly Lamb Bobak's work has, however, a strongly English romantic flavour which suggests the influence of John Piper. Gordon Smith, whose *Structure with Red Sun* won the prize in the National Gallery of Canada biennial exhibition of 1955, also employs a thick tangle of branches, more closely interwoven than Graham Sutherland's thorn studies, and produces an effect which is strongly expressive of the fertility of nature on the Pacific Coast (Plate XX). Highly patterned as they are, his paintings are solidly based on life.

The gradual reappearance of nature in the art of today is the only indication of what the future may hold in the way of a reaction to the nonobjective art of the 1940's. But prudence forbids one even to guess which of the many trends in Canadian art may prove the most important for the future. One can only say that of talented artists we have no lack in Canada today, for the proportion of interesting painters is almost miraculous in a population so small, and more are bound to appear if public interest and support continue at their present rate of increase. This, then, for the moment at least, is the end of history. But contemporary art is an endless continued story, and a new instalment is ready to come out almost as soon as the old one is in print.

## Music

IN THE period 1940-1955, Canada's musical culture has both grown and changed in character. Canadian composers have for the first time begun to achieve national and in some cases international reputations. Canadian musical artists and performing groups continue to do high-calibre work, attested again in some outstanding cases by international laurels won. Conservatories and university music departments have scarcely declined from the peak enrolments enjoyed in the immediate postwar years, 1946-1950. In English-speaking Canada two powerful supplements in the musical training of the young, inherited from the English musical tradition—music competition festivals and local-centre music examinations—have for the first time been joined to public-school methods of the United States as important forming influences. The country's musical past—a humble but in many ways a unique and profoundly interesting history—has for the first time begun to impinge on a few scholars' imaginations. The present essay concentrates on contemporary Canadian composers and their works, though several other facets of the country's musical life are mentioned as they reflect on the creative scene.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The most important general reference on the subject is *Music in Canada* (Toronto, 1955), written by eighteen contributors under the

In the field of composition, growth and change have been accompanied by a certain degree of polemic. This may be briefly illustrated in two quotations. The first is from a respected older composer, speaking in 1951 in answer to an interviewer's question, "What of modern music?":

Not long ago I read the statement of a modernist that modern composers do not write for the ear alone. That I can well believe. Too often it is noisome, shows a complete disregard for form—and constant use of root progression. Of course, if you tear anything up by the roots, it is bound to die! <sup>2</sup>

The academicism and the tone of cultured derision are obvious; the choice of words, especially "noisome" for "noisy," is perhaps unconsciously archaic. The contrasting quotation is from a skilful composer of a younger generation, surveying the creative scene in 1950:

We are actually the first generation of Canadian composers. Before our time music development was largely in the hands of imported English organists, who however sound academically, had no creative contribution to make of any general value. . . . There is still far too little creativity in the music turned out compared to the output of music "born fifty years too late." <sup>3</sup>

Here the tone is one of manifestolike pride in attack. "Imported English organists"—each word is intended to contain a sting, an effect of deliberate offence which would be quite lost if for this phrase we were to read "church musicians brought over from the old country." Expressions such as the two just quoted have been rare, but they signify an inner struggle accompanying the recent development of Canadian composition.

Among the "imported English organists" may be mentioned Thomas J. Crawford (1877–1955), Healey Willan (b. 1880),

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editorship of Sir Ernest MacMillan. For lists of works and biographies of Canadian composers, see Helmut Kallmann, ed., *Catalogue of Canadian Composers*, 2d ed. (Toronto, 1952).

<sup>2</sup> Healey Willan, in *TSO News* (Toronto), October 1951.

<sup>3</sup> Barbara Pentland, in *Northern Review* (Montreal), April 1950.

W. H. Anderson (1882-1955), Alfred Whitehead (b. 1887), Edwin A. Collins (b. 1893), and Quentin Maclean (b. 1896). All were "imported" between 1908 and 1927, with the exception of Maclean, who arrived in the mid-1930's. All received English musical training with the exception of Crawford, who studied under Reinecke in Leipzig, and Maclean, who was for a time a pupil of Max Reger. Another "imported" Englishman is the cellist Leo Smith (1881-1952).

The quoted jibe ("too little creativity") is understandable when one looks at the large proportion of pallid organ pieces and choral works in nineteenth-century style produced by this group. For a balanced view, however, one must take account of other aspects of their work. The technical competence within its admittedly old-fashioned style commands respect. (Virtually all these men have made important contributions as teachers.) Nor do the pieces always ignore their New World setting: there are beautiful songs by Smith to Canadian poems by Duncan Campbell Scott; Collins has composed a *Nova Scotia Suite* to words by Watson Kirkconnell, and Willan provided music for a pageant with text by E. J. Pratt called *Brébeuf and His Brethren*, concerning the early French martyrs in Canada. The charge of narrowness and sterility can only legitimately be brought against a small minority of the British-born composers. Each of the major ones has had at least an individual spark in some special field. A precious part of Crawford's talent lay in the realms of operetta and the parlour song. Smith and Maclean both embrace a Delius-like impressionism in orchestral works of exquisite colour and a certain dreamy charm, the former in *Summer Idyll* and the latter in *Algonquin Legend*. Maclean, the youngest of those mentioned, has also ventured farthest in the extension of the traditional idiom, his most recent works suggesting affinities with Hindemith.

By far the widest ranging of these composers is Healey Willan. Trained in a British choir school and later in the atmosphere of musical Edwardianism of Parry, Stanford, and Elgar, he



formed his early reputation on choral and organ pieces. These still make up the bulk of his large output. His approach is marked by the influences of three quite different musical literatures—Gregorian chant; the works of Palestrina, Lassus, Byrd, and the other masters of the Counter Reformation and Tudor schools; and finally late-nineteenth-century romanticism. The mixture of styles is quite reckless and almost always strikingly successful. In a piece for unaccompanied choir, Willan organizes phrases in the sixteenth-century manner but provides cadences—of dramatic sweep and often a specific colour-quality—from a much later musical vocabulary. It is as though Palestrina were to take a course in “choral orchestration.” The instrumental works of Willan’s early period are typified in the *Introduction, Passacaglia, and Fugue* for organ (pub. 1919), the *Variations and Epilogue* for two pianos (1916, revised 1943), and the two sonatas for violin and piano. The first-named was described by the French organist Joseph Bonnet as “the greatest thing of its kind since Bach,” an impressive but misleading remark often quoted by Canadian reviewers. Actually the piece adheres more closely to the massive organ style of Franck—“its kind,” though thoroughly valid, has little to do with Bach. These works are full textured and show Willan’s fine command of harmonic resource and the interweaving of chromatic strands of melody. One of the sonatas is a deliberate style-study somewhat after Handel.

In 1936 Willan, then fifty-six, produced the first of his two symphonies. Subsequently he has turned out in rapid succession a piano concerto, two operas (*Transit through Fire*, 1942, and *Deirdre*, 1946), the Second Symphony (1950), and a *Coronation Suite* (1953) for chorus and orchestra, in addition to a steady stream of smaller works. The symphonies are in a strongly traditional concert style: Wagner and Elgar are their models. The Russian nineteenth-century style is adopted, with less success, in the concerto. The years following Willan’s retirement from the University of Toronto music faculty in 1950 have

been among his most productive ones.<sup>4</sup> He enjoys wide prestige both in Canada and abroad, and his seventy-fifth birthday was celebrated by many special performances of his music. An anachronistic figure, he nevertheless impels admiration by the vigour and integrity with which he sustains his musical convictions.

For the most part these British-born composers ignored Canada's musical folklore: Canadian flavour in their music (for example in the few works mentioned above) is the result of literary or historical influence. In the first two or three decades of the present century the realms of Canadian folk music (Es-kimo, Indian, French-Canadian, Maritime, and so on) were assiduously investigated. The leader in this movement is an internationally known scholar, Marius Barbeau (b. 1885), whose field-made recordings, data, and writings form a large and valuable collection in the National Museum, Ottawa.<sup>5</sup> As might be expected in view of the deeper-rooted culture of French Canada, it was in the work of certain French-speaking Canadian composers that this heritage of folksong was first drawn upon artistically, in the 1920's. Chief members of this group are Claude Champagne (b. 1891), Hector Gratton (b. 1900), and Gabriel Cusson (b. 1903).

Of these Gratton has been the most prolific, turning out, side by side with purely abstract works, fantasias and *danses canadiennes*, as well as folksong settings numbering in the hundreds. Cusson, the first of many Canadian pupils of the indomitable Nadia Boulanger in France, has done similar settings and reflects a love of folksong in his two orchestral suites. He has also produced a quantity of church music. Champagne stands in

<sup>4</sup> He continues as choir director at St. Mary Magdalen's Church, Toronto.

<sup>5</sup> Examples from the National Museum collection have been re-recorded for vol. VIII of the *World Library of Folk and Primitive Music*, issued by Columbia Records, Inc., New York, with descriptive notes by Barbeau. For a useful cross-section of the music itself, see Edith Fowke and Richard Johnston, eds., *Folksongs of Canada* (Waterloo, Ont., 1955).

roughly the same relation to his colleagues as Willan to his: typical of the generation, he is at the same time outstanding for his creative vigour and for the wide range of different musical media he has attempted. The latter include symphony, concerto, the choral-orchestral forms—indeed, virtually all the large media except those associated with the stage. The two works for which he is most famous are the *Suite canadienne* (1927) for chorus and orchestra, and the *Symphonie gaspésienne* (1945, the first of his two symphonies)—the one concerned with Canadian folk-song, the other with the Canadian landscape. Champagne approaches perhaps closer than any composer in Canada today to a conscious musical nationalism.

Other names to be added here are those of Georges-Émile Tanguay (b. 1893), whose music for orchestra and for organ shows some of the qualities of French Impressionism; Marius Benoist (b. 1896), whose *Great Bear* ballet shows a significant use of Indian motifs; and Rodolphe Mathieu (b. 1896), a composer sharing the general outlook in matters of technique of all these men, though concentrating less on folklore elements and more on neatly wrought chamber music and sonatas, somewhat in the manner of the French conservatives of today.

The best-known musical personality among the native-born Canadians of this older generation is of course Sir Ernest MacMillan (b. 1893). An organist of brilliant gifts, an urbane writer on music, conductor of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra for twenty-five years (1931–1956), propagandist for music in Canada—almost a musical statesman in fact—he even accompanied Barbeau on a number of the early folksong collecting trips, and concert settings of French-Canadian and West Coast Indian music are among his most frequently performed works. As an original composer he has produced little since his appointment to the Toronto Symphony Orchestra. The setting of Swinburne's "England" and the large-scale *Te Deum* are in the British choral tradition of the turn of the century. Though his own creative instincts are conservative, he has often shown as

performer a liberal and sympathetic regard for well-written works in a more modern vein.

Modernism first began to assert itself in Canadian music in the late 1930's and early 1940's, when a large number of native-born composers were maturing, the major figures being Barbara Pentland (b. 1912), John Weinzweig (b. 1913), Alexander Brott (b. 1915), and Jean Papineau-Couture (b. 1916). The works of twentieth-century masters such as Schoenberg, Stravinsky, and Bartók began to influence Canadian music around that time—rather late in the day, it must be admitted, and even then it was some years before any substantial portion of the musical public in Canada had become sufficiently exposed to the newer styles to be able to follow what their own composers were trying to say. This is an international problem, but its Canadian aspect is worth stressing. In 1946 a Toronto performance of the *Symphony No. 4* by Jan Sibelius—a work which, if forbidding at all, is certainly not so in its style or technical idiom—was solemnly introduced by a speech from the podium in which the audience was urged to approach it open-mindedly and in a spirit of tolerance for the new and experimental. At this same period Toronto actually harboured a notable group of young composers who, because they talked about Stravinsky and Schoenberg, were regarded (and sometimes regarded themselves) as ultra-radicals.

The impact of twentieth-century idioms would have had no lasting importance were it not that this "middle generation" included some first-rate talents. All four composers mentioned above have produced extensively in a variety of large forms; all four are distinct musical personalities. Their command of craft is as thorough as that of the older generation; if this were not so, indeed, they could hardly have sustained the change in ideas and styles so successfully. In fact, these four, and others of their generation and viewpoint, have now fallen heir to some of the leading pedagogical posts in the country: this gives them an influence on the music of their younger countrymen, though it

has unfortunately resulted, as is so often the case, in a slight slowing down of their own creative activities.

Barbara Pentland's mature works include two symphonies, an organ concerto, two string quartets, and a chamber opera, *The Lake*, on a libretto by Dorothy Livesay. Her style is firm in its structural aspects, fresh in melodic quality, lean in texture; she occasionally, but rarely systematically, draws on techniques of chromatic serialism. She is a fine pianist; and the cornerstone of her output is her large repertoire of piano works, of which the much-performed *Studies in Line* (1941), the *Variations* (1942), the *Sonata-Fantasy* (1947), and the two sonatinas (1951) may be mentioned as examples.

John Weinzwieg, though rightly credited with introducing the modern Viennese atonal techniques (Arnold Schoenberg's "twelve-note system") into Canada, is himself an eclectic. His music is marked by impassioned lyricism à la Bloch, by complex rhythmic processes, frequently of a comic flavour, and occasionally by jazz primitivism. He is particularly skilled in exploiting instrumental capabilities: his music always has a fine polished sound. His major scores are the *Interlude in an Artist's Life* (1943) for strings, two divertimentos (No. 1, 1946, for flute and strings, and No. 2, 1947, for oboe and strings), a sonata *Israel* for cello and piano (1949), a ballet, *The Red Ear of Corn* (1949), and a violin concerto (1954). In one or two smaller works he has utilized Eskimo folk tunes. Weinzwieg has built a solid reputation and enjoys wide respect both as a composer and by reason of his selfless efforts on behalf of fellow composers in Canada (he has been president of the Canadian League of Composers since its inception in 1951).

The most perplexing of these composers, though one of the most accomplished, is Alexander Brott. Not that he is an extremist. On the contrary, he is by temperament, one suspects, a late romantic; but some sort of feeling of moral obligation seems to have made him adopt, almost as it were by force, contemporary idioms. His works include symphonic poems (*War*

and Peace, 1944; *From Sea to Sea*, 1947), a violin concerto (1950), and numerous other pieces, most of them for large orchestra (Brott is also a conductor). Their characteristic qualities are constant rhythmic drive and a certain forcefulness of expression. Crude bombastic humour manifests itself in the chamber work *Critics' Corner* (1950) and in the orchestral pieces *Delightful Delusions* and *Analogy and Anagram* (1955). On the other hand, the *Songs of Contemplation* (1945), for voice and strings, possess melodic clarity and tenderness of phrasing. Brott is at least never dull.

Jean Papineau-Couture, a Boulanger pupil, has produced a symphony (1948), a violin concerto (1951), song cycles, sonatas, and a major work in the realm of ecclesiastical music, the remarkable *Psaume CL* for soloists, chorus, wind ensemble, and organ (1954). His chief model is Stravinsky, whose harmonic and rhythmic vocabulary he has adapted to his own use. Dissonant tonal harmonies and an extremely effortless melodic quality are his trade-marks as a composer.<sup>6</sup>

A number of other composers from this middle generation deserve mention. Some have brought a direct knowledge of modern European and American developments from periods of study abroad. Murray Adaskin (b. 1906), a violinist who started to compose when in his late thirties, reflects the neoclassic idioms of Stravinsky and of Darius Milhaud, with whom he studied for a short time. His major work is the *Ballet Symphony* (1951). Jean Coulthard (b. 1908), who studied at the Royal College of Music, London, has retained relationships with English music of her generation, particularly in the symphony (1951) and the set of variations called *Music on a Quiet Song*, for flute and strings, in which the English pastoral quality is prevalent. Canadian students of Paul Hindemith have included Violet Archer (b.

<sup>6</sup> For more extended notes on Papineau-Couture, and on some of the other composers mentioned here, including musical examples, see John Beckwith, "Composers in Toronto and Montreal," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, October 1956.

1913) and Graham George (b. England 1912). Miss Archer also studied briefly with Béla Bartók in New York—one of the few composition pupils of his American period. Her music is sturdy, extremely fluent, though sometimes, like Hindemith's own music, neutral or rather dry in content. She is at her best in imposing works of stiff ceremonial character such as the *Fanfare and Passacaglia* for orchestra (1947). Another composer whose music follows the Hindemith tendencies, even though he has had no direct contact with the master, is Gerald Bales (b. 1919), whose best-known work is the striking *Essay for Strings* (1947). Potential Canadian candidates for the role of musicologist-composer, a familiar figure internationally, are Marvin Duchow (b. 1914) and Robert Turner (b. 1920), both of them well schooled in the compositional craft and well versed in musical literature. Both are American trained.

Why were so few of these composers influenced by the older Canadians like Willan and Champagne? Though one can see traces of a teacher-pupil tradition establishing itself between the middle and younger generations, this is not nearly so possible between older and middle: undoubtedly this is where the inner struggle between forces of conservatism and change operates most noticeably. As one critic has put it, the newer composers wrote "as if to avoid sounding like Healey Willan were itself a virtue."<sup>7</sup> The middle generation went abroad for its studies or at least for its true creative influences: the younger generation still goes abroad for its studies, but it no longer feels it *must* do so. Among the group under discussion, only Godfrey Ridout (b. 1918) has deliberately set out to continue the Willan line. His most characteristic piece is the ambitious choral-orchestral work *Esther* (1952); the influences of Elgar and Walton are apparent, though the music has much real vitality of its own. An American composer and critic wrote, following a performance of two of Ridout's three *Cantiones mysticae* for voice and orchestra (1953):

<sup>7</sup> Milton Wilson, in *Canadian Forum* (Toronto), January 1953.

Both these songs follow the same plan. . . . They start in 17th-century English manner with no hint of anything more modern. . . . Suddenly the mood changes into a rather violent outburst of feeling, in post-Romantic style. . . . Very seldom does one find the widely different styles of different historical periods used for deliberate contrast in a single movement. The effect . . . is startling and dramatic.<sup>8</sup>

He might almost have been describing a work by Healey Willan.

Maurice Dela (b. 1919, a pupil of Champagne) is in this respect comparable to Ridout. In general flavour his music resembles Mathieu's or Tanguay's, if perhaps not Champagne's. Two other French Canadians, Jean Vallerand (b. 1915, a pupil of Champagne) and Maurice Blackburn (b. 1914, a pupil of Tanguay and later of Nadia Boulanger) seem to have set out also to continue the work of their forbears, Vallerand in his early symphonic poem *The Devil in the Belfry*, somewhat after Dukas, and Blackburn in his descriptive orchestral works *The Little Streets of Old Quebec* and *Charpente*. More recently, however, both men have been attracted to more advanced contemporary styles. Vallerand utilizes twelve-note methods in his string quartet (1954), and Blackburn has experimented with rhythmic serialism in addition to producing a charming comic opera in one act, *Une mesure de silence* (1955), in the vein of Ibert and Poulenc.

Blackburn is one of several composers of this generation who have specialized in film music. Canada's National Film Board, founded in the early years of World War II, commissions musical scores for numerous documentary films each year and employs four staff composers, the present incumbents being Blackburn, Louis Applebaum (b. 1918), Eldon Rathburn (b. 1916), and Robert Fleming (b. 1921). All have reputations in pure compositional fields as well, but they possess the special virtues of versatility and impersonality demanded of the film composer. Applebaum in particular has earned an international

<sup>8</sup> Henry Cowell, in *Musical Quarterly* (New York), January 1954.



niche in the film-music world. Music for NFB films is often experimental and generally closely integrated with the making of the film, along the lines of the highest-standard American and European films, rather than of commodity films.

The opening up of Canadian radio and television provided similar opportunities for "background" music of creative quality by which composers of this generation were able to benefit. Here the main talents are Lucio Agostini (b. 1913), Morris Surdin (b. 1914), Howard Cable (b. 1920), and Neil Chotem (b. 1921).

Indeed, the fact that all these composers matured in the period of the establishment (1936) and early growth of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation was a distinct factor in their favour and has a definite connection with the advances in artistic standard and world recognition they have achieved. For background music is only one special field in which radio has provided opportunities for the composer. The Canadian national networks carry a fairly high percentage of serious music—about 16 to 20 per cent of total weekly air-time—and the comparative freedom from box-office considerations allows an encouraging amount of that time to be devoted to new works by Canadian composers. The CBC does this in several ways. It has commissioned works for special occasions—for example, Willan's *Brébeuf*, *Deirdre*, and *Coronation Suite* were all written for the CBC. Its International Service broadcasts many works by short-wave to other countries and in addition regularly records outstanding examples of Canadian music for distribution, mainly to radio stations abroad, but at home as well. It sponsored, in 1949, a national song-writing contest, with prizes, first performances, and recordings for the ten winning vocal works. In the seasons roughly from 1948 to 1951, the CBC presented, every month or so, regular "one-man shows"—half-hour broadcasts each devoted to chamber works of a single Canadian composer—as part of the cultural series called "CBC Wednesday Night." From 1954 to 1956 the French network presented an enterprising weekly series called "Premières," devoted to first performances of new works. The

founding of the CBC Symphony Orchestra (1952), as the best orchestral aggregation in the country, broadcasting weekly from Toronto under various guest conductors, has also proved a potent stimulus to composition; it is now quite rare for a good symphonic work by a Canadian composer to go long without performance. In the view of a German-born Canadian music-historian the musical activities of the CBC have provided a national aspect to what had previously been only the sum of many local musical endeavours.<sup>9</sup> For the composer the CBC has been an indispensable source of both propagandistic and economic aid, one of the few special advantages he enjoys over his confreres in the United States.

In general, however, things are not so rosy that Canadian composers are never tempted to leave home. The departure of musical talent for the greener fields abroad is indeed a constant phenomenon of Canada's musical history, a major nineteenth-century example being the gifted and energetic Calixa Lavallée (1842-1891), who evidently (and ironically) composed his best-known work, the national song "O Canada," just shortly before taking up residence in the United States. Of the contemporary middle generation, several composers born in Canada rose to prominence after leaving their homeland: among the best-known are Colin McPhee (b. 1901), Charles Jones (b. 1910), Henry Brant (b. 1913), and Dorothy Cadzow (b. 1916), all of whom live in the United States, and Robert Farnon (b. 1917), now settled in England.

On the other hand, some compensation for this tendency may be found in the large number of foreign-born composers who have come to reside in Canada. Particularly noteworthy are the numerous mature composers of central- or north-European birth and training who arrived between 1937 and 1952—paralleling the similar influx to the United States which began only slightly

<sup>9</sup> Helmut Kallmann, in the article "Kanada" for the German music encyclopedia *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, now (1956) in course of publication.

earlier. We may list the main members of this group roughly in order of their arrival: Arnold Walter (b. Austria 1902), Oskar Morawetz (b. Czechoslovakia 1917), Walter Kaufmann (b. Czechoslovakia 1907), István Anhalt (b. Hungary 1919), Otto Joachim (b. Germany 1910), Talivaldis Kenins (b. Latvia 1919), Udo Kasemets (b. Estonia 1919), and Sonia Eckhardt-Gramatté (b. Austria 1902).

Arnold Walter, now one of Canada's leading musical educators, has found less time for composing in recent years. His music for piano (sonata, études) and for orchestra (symphony, 1944) is energetic and resourceful; stylistically it aligns with Hindemith and other modern conservatives. Oskar Morawetz is a composer of great facility, whose musical vocabulary, though relatively conventional, is nonetheless extensive. He is among the most frequently performed composers in Canada, the most popular items in his output being the *Carnival Overture* (1945) and various songs. The latter, many of them to English poems from the Romantic period, reveal a striving for dramatic effect but at times overstate their musical material so as to upset the musico-literary balance. Morawetz is on surer ground in the large abstract forms, and his recent symphony and String Quartet No. 2 show strongly conceived themes worked out with abundant skill and traditional musical logic. Anhalt, Joachim, and Kasemets all represent *avant-gardiste* tendencies. All three employ twelve-note techniques. Anhalt is the most uncompromising and "difficult" of them, his works being extremely abstract in conception, though written with a painstaking consideration for detail that is most impressive. Joachim resembles postwar European composers such as Boulez and Stockhausen, in his rather clinical concentration on rhythm and timbre. Kasemets, a prolific writer and fine craftsman, employs relatively simple, sometimes actually folklike, materials for elaboration in atonal fashion.<sup>10</sup> Talivaldis Kenins, French trained, writes intensely active

<sup>10</sup> For further discussion of these three composers, see Beckwith, *op. cit.*

music of more conventional leanings, whose agreeable and imaginative colours sometimes recall Ravel.

The work of all these men is a substantial and integral part of the current Canadian musical scene. Their particular kind of contribution is also a comparatively new feature of music in Canada: not since the eighteenth century, and then only in quite a small way, have musicians from the Germanic and Slavic countries figured prominently in Canadian musical development. Many of them are of course important and influential as performers and teachers, alongside native-born colleagues such as John Weinzwieg, Barbara Pentland, and Murray Adaskin.

Musical composition in Canada, as almost everywhere in the Western world, is today a science and a craft as well as an art, and hence a field in which the influence and advice of a good teacher is of perhaps greater importance than in some of the sister arts. In approaching a discussion of the maturing younger generation of Canadian composers, the first feature to note is the appearance in Toronto in the late 1940's of a centralized school of composers, grouped around John Weinzwieg as teacher. This group has been termed, by at least one critic, "the Toronto twelve-tone school."<sup>11</sup> The designation is slightly misleading since doctrinaire twelve-note serialism appears very seldom in the work of these men, but accurate in that the members of the group share common features of style and a common indebtedness to the example and encouragement of their teacher. The leading lights are Samuel Dolin (b. 1917), Lorne Betts (b. 1918), Andrew Twa (b. 1919), Harry Freedman (b. 1922), and Harry Somers (b. 1925).<sup>12</sup>

These men are eclectic modernists. All have, like Weinzwieg, drawn on twelve-note processes, Bartokian rhythms, and North

<sup>11</sup> William Krehm, in a CBC broadcast.

<sup>12</sup> World War II accounts for a certain overlap in dates between this and the previous generation. Aside from this factor, Dolin, Betts, and Twa all matured late, whereas, for example, Fleming, though younger, matured extremely early.

American jazz inflections at different times. Granted these technical similarities of approach, they do not parrot, but are decidedly individual artists. Dolin's elegiac serenade for strings (1951) has a neoclassic flavour. Twa's symphony (1953) is pleasant and somewhat gaudy in colour and insistent in rhythm; his serenade for clarinet and strings (1948) shows more complex preoccupations in the refined medium of chamber music. Betts, more productive than either of these, has a rather austere musical personality and gives fewer nods in the direction of conventional tonality than the others of the "school." His sometimes arid but often starkly impressive songs (for example, his many James Joyce settings) are among his most valuable pieces, though the range of other media he has attempted is notable. Perhaps not surprisingly, the jazz aspect of this school's music is least prominent in Betts. On the other hand, it is a central consideration in the work of Harry Freedman. His neoimpressionistic nocturne for orchestra and *Tableau* for strings (1952) are evocative pieces with much of the nostalgia and swaying lyricism of the blues, and in several chamber works he adroitly adopts rhythms and textures of contemporary jazz.

The most prominent member of the group is Harry Somers, who though scarcely thirty has already composed an astonishing number of major works, which have attracted wide notice in Canada and in other countries. The list includes a symphony, a *Passacaglia and Fugue* for orchestra, two piano concertos, a chamber opera, *The Fool*, a suite *North Country* for strings, a suite for harp and chamber orchestra, four piano sonatas, a set of twelve fugues for piano in twelve-note idiom called  $12 \times 12$ , two string quartets, two sonatas for violin and piano, and many smaller items. Somers ranges about a great deal, so that in the course of a single work he is likely to remind us of Vaughan Williams, Bartók, Krenek, and Prokofiev in turn. Nearly always present, however, are certain Somers trade-marks: nervous interjections of rhythm, suspended sorrowful long-lined melodies, and quasi-physical crescendos of tension. Variation, ornamenta-

tion, and fugal devices of the baroque and preclassic eras bulk prominently in his most recent compositions. He is a thoroughly professional composer, absorbed in the solution of technical problems (transcendental pianism in the Piano Sonata No. 2, or the juxtaposition of tonal and atonal phrases in the Violin Sonata No. 1 and the Piano Concerto No. 2), yet always regarding his work as the passionate expression of something deep within him. His weakest moments are those in which the desire for expression gets rather absurdly out of hand, so that for example a single note or two will be charged with signifying worlds of feeling. His vocal music has generally been a disappointment, possibly because he has yet to find a really gifted literary collaborator. These criticisms aside, his music is full of vitality, creative spark, and genuinely poetical feeling.

Generally moderate though less easy to pigeon-hole among the English-speaking members of the younger generation are the composers William Keith Rogers (b. 1921), Frederick Karam (b. 1926), John Beckwith (b. 1927), and Paul McIntyre (b. 1931). Typifying the upsurge of interest in jazz composition which is a marked feature of Canadian as of United States musical life nowadays are the attractive pieces of Phil Nimmons (b. 1923).

Since 1950 attention has shifted slightly from Toronto to Montreal as a centre of creative activity. The reasons for this may be partly accidental, but the following quotation from the newspaper column of a Montreal composer-critic may be illuminating:

For the third consecutive year the Canadian League of Composers has succeeded in attracting a full house for a concert of Canadian music. A large part of this success reflects the efforts of the concert committee . . . but several hundred people, from among the younger generation and the musicians, went to the concert without having been coerced. The concert . . . proves once again that there is in Montreal a public for Canadian music.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Jean Vallerand, in *Le Devoir* (Montreal), Feb. 4, 1956.

And the writer continues by saying that in Montreal the public which attends such concerts to satisfy its curiosity about the music is beginning to outnumber the public which does so out of social or patriotic duty. The only other large city in Canada about which this could be said, probably, is Vancouver; it cannot yet be said about Toronto.

The French-Canadian talents lack a rough central aesthetic such as that provided by Weinzwieg in Toronto, but they have if anything a more thorough training than their English-speaking colleagues, as well as this special stimulus of a naturally interested audience; the number and calibre of those presently active is certainly encouraging. As the principal figures we may mention here Jocelyne Binet (b. 1923), Gabriel Charpentier (b. 1925), Clermont Pepin (b. 1926), François Morel (b. 1926), Pierre Mercure (b. 1927), and Roger Matton (b. 1929).

Pepin's is a solid, forceful type of talent, curiously similar in some ways to that of Brott; for example, it manifests itself in broadly conceived symphonic poems such as *Guernica* (1952) and *Le Rite du soleil noir* (1955). The "wow-tendency" emerges strongly also in the brilliant concerto for two pianos and percussion (1954) of Matton. By contrast, restrained lyricism, religious mysticism, and a feeling for subtleties of colour and rhythm (reminiscent of the music of contemporary Parisians like Messiaen) are qualities found in the works of Charpentier and Morel. Both these men are attracted to Gregorian chant and early polyphony: Charpentier's mass (1952) for three-part women's chorus and Morel's *Antiphonie* for orchestra are specific instances. Elsewhere Morel draws on "tone-cluster" techniques in his two *Etudes de sonorités* (1954), while Charpentier radically simplifies line and rhythm in his mystical *Trois poèmes de Saint Jean-de-la-Croix* (1954) for contralto voice with restrained linear accompaniment for violin and cello played with no vibrato. Charpentier is also a writer, and it was he who provided the text for one of the most extraordinarily successful of recent Canadian compositions, the *Cantate pour une joie* (1955), the outstanding

major work of Pierre Mercure. Mercure is a composer of moderate outlook: the *Cantate's* main models appear to have been the choral-orchestral works of Honegger. His lyrical gift is strong, and he handles the orchestra with an expert skill.

Folksong collecting has continued in recent years. Newer areas of investigation are Newfoundland and the Ukrainian settlements of the Canadian prairies. Besides Barbeau, who is still active, Helen Creighton and Kenneth Peacock may be mentioned as skilled researchers in this field. Peacock (b. 1922) is unique in that he entered on this activity as a practising composer: folksong naturally leaves its mark on his creative style, notably in the *Songs of the Cedar* (1950), a chamber work with voices, and the recent suite for piano called *Five Idioms*. Another folksong-inspired work is the sonorous *Miramichi Ballad* for orchestra by Kelsey Jones (b. 1922). Somers and Kasemets have both employed Canadian folk material in their works, but in general this type of musical identification with the soil seems to attract the younger generation least among composers alive today.

Music is the most mysterious and impalpable stuff, being literally "of the air." The reader, and particularly the non-Canadian reader, will want to ask, How can I find out for myself what this music is like? Where and how is it to be heard? Radio broadcasts and concert performances of Canadian composers' works are far more frequent now than fifteen or even ten years ago. All-Canadian orchestral concerts have been presented in Canada, the United States, France, England, and Italy in the past two or three seasons. Many of the composers mentioned have enterprisingly organized individual "showcase" concerts for themselves, and in addition through the Canadian League of Composers they have been responsible for many group concerts of orchestral and chamber works, some of which the CBC has broadcast. However, the more permanent ways of getting acquainted with music—publication and recording—have to date done little for the local serious composer in Canada, partly of course owing to the inevitable commercial considera-



tions, unusually acute in a country such as Canada of large area but small population. References already quoted (see footnote 1) will provide a guide to most of the music that has so far been made available in this way. The album of short playable piano works called *Fourteen Piano Pieces by Canadian Composers*<sup>14</sup> may be mentioned as a useful published anthology of typical music by some of the younger composers discussed here. Commercial recordings of Canadian works are virtually nonexistent: if the Canadian composer enjoys the attention of a national radio system, he may on the other hand envy his United States cousin the large record-buying public south of the border which has made possible LP recordings of so many contemporary American works. With the changes and advances which have marked the recent years in Canada, however, it is reasonable to hope that these matters will receive attention. Canada's composers are skilled, productive, and as varied in outlook as those of any other nation today; perhaps soon it will no longer be necessary to ask the reader to take such a statement largely on faith.

<sup>14</sup> Oakville, Ont., 1955.

## The Theatre

THE subject of Canada's theatrical culture is a delicate one. Rather than recognize the uncomfortable fact that this country has just the kind of theatre it deserves, no more, no less, Canadians are apt to take the stand that they have no real theatre.

The excuse is that this country is taking its place in the world in an age dominated by mechanical mass media, which provide much of what is necessary in entertainment and communication. There might even be an impression that theatre, as the world has known it since the Greeks at least, is a dispensable art form.

Such gloomy views are shared by the complacent, who are thus absolved of any shame or blame for the poor condition of theatre at the present time, and by the desperate ones, who bewail the condition but find themselves in a minority.

But the truth is that Canada has a theatre and has always had a theatre of sorts. The instinct for theatre is a natural one and, indeed, an inevitable part of the complex structure of human expression. The need to enact events, symbolic or actual; to exhibit the gift for enacting; to speak through others to your world—these are as deeply rooted as is the instinct to record action or establish truth by repetition.

It is preposterous to think that a mere half-century of elec-

tronic development could wipe out such instincts in one group of people, no matter how isolated they might be.

Canada's future theatre will be unique in that it must attain full flower after the arrival of substitutes which seemingly hamper theatrical cultures in other parts of the world. More than that, it will probably use the mechanical media to strengthen its position. There is evidence of this turn about-face already, for the radio has brought independence to the Canadian actor and television is making him more prosperous. Both win him wider audiences than he has known in the past, making him, as an actor must be, a recognizable figure.

Furthermore, the kind of independence allowed him by these substitute forms, so useful where the potential audience is spread out thinly across a continent, is giving him identity and self-recognition. These the Canadian actor has lacked in the past for two reasons. First, the theatre had been supplied from beyond the borders of the country, and the presence of local actors in a company indicated only that the management has not been able to afford the fully imported product. Secondly, the actor has not found in acting at home enough satisfaction, enough of a guarantee of his professionalism. He must be accepted abroad, with no label of local origin, before he quite accepts himself. His audiences have shared this view with him, generously, labelling him as a gifted amateur until he has been away and come back with the sign of approval from more knowing audiences.

This is the inevitable outcome of a theatre which has always been supplied from abroad, from three major sources beyond our boundaries. England, the United States, and France have not only set our standards of theatre for us but have also supplied the plays and players. To this day our dramatic literature is still almost entirely borrowed.

If Canada had only one major influence to contend with, a rebellion of sorts might have taken place many years ago and an assertion of independence made. But when Canadians turn from the style or manner of France or England, as being too

formal or too deeply rooted in an old culture, they have been able to associate themselves with the young vital theatre of the United States. Conversely, when the melting-pot world to the south makes too crude an exhibition for our tastes, we can just as easily swing over to embrace the more dignified forms of the mother countries.

It may yet prove that the years which brought professional theatre into a decline in Canada were the greatest boon to us, though at the time they seemed to be the desolation of our hopes. A brief examination of the development of theatre in this country since its introduction from abroad strengthens that point.

A picture of the various forms and degrees of theatrical culture here is very close to being a picture of general Canadian development. It is not a flattering likeness but the resemblance is unmistakable. Canada, it seems, has always had the kind of theatre it needs, deserves, and wants. We will not go back to the days which casual historians used to dismiss with such a phrase as "before the white man came." That theatre did exist among the early inhabitants of this part of the continent is best testified by an examination of the various rituals as described by early travellers from Europe. Cast but an eye upon the Indian masks of the British Columbia tribes, which stand comparison very well with the masks of the Greek theatre, and you may be assured that the instinct for theatre was natural here as anywhere else, even if the recording instinct that produces a national drama is evidently not.

But modern Canadian theatre, to which we must limit ourselves in so brief and easy a summary, established no relationship with existing forms when it was set in motion by the first colonists.

The first modern theatre in this country, then, was garrison theatre. One of the first productions would have been that of a new and scandalous comedy by a contemporary Frenchman named Molière. The play was *Tartuffe*, and Quebec City was

rehearsing it almost as soon as was Paris. Meeting with some of the same forces of censorship as attended its Parisian performance, that Canadian première was cancelled.

Garrison theatre was staged by the officers and their wives for their own amusement, rather than for the entertainment of the troops. Later, professional actresses took over for the officers' ladies when the performances were thrown open to the townsfolk. That indefatigable amateur actor, Charles Dickens, played with such a double cast during a visit to Montreal.

But between *Tartuffe* and Dickens' appearance in *Every Man to His Humour* one cannot see a strong determination on the part of the nonmilitary settlers to have a representative theatre. It must have been about this time that the first newcomers from Europe started off on their plaint that Canada has no theatre, a cry undiminished even today. But the truth of the matter is that more materialistic frontiers have been of first concern to the people arriving in this part of the New World. They still are.

It is also true that many of those colonists were refugees seeking a new freedom from the decadent toils of European civilizations, as they saw it. Puritans have always recognized and damned the evils of self-exhibition and the insidious delights of the playhouse. In a country already bleak, these hardy forebears did not have to campaign very energetically against that particular ancient evil. The difficulty of gathering an audience in a country so sparsely populated did much to discourage it, and curfew conditions existed in the more populous centres. But the garrison theatres were beyond the censure of the stern forefathers of the hamlets.

It is but an affirmation of the natural place of theatre in life to say that Canadians eventually did get theatre—for the small population, great distances, and inclement weather combined with both the Puritan veto and the materialists' disinterest to make the country an unlikely one for such a crop.

But grow that theatre did, and by the nineteenth century there were audiences for the English touring companies, out to pick up

American dollars even then, and for the American companies which included most of our Eastern centres on their theatrical circuits.

As the country grew more prosperous and better settled, the small new towns included assembly halls of one sort or another among their public buildings. In Ontario, there sprang up a chain of opera houses. These establishments are rather deceptive in name. For the most part, they were second-story jobs of wooden construction, located over the city hall, the post office, or the library. But theatres they were, and no mistake. Each had a box office at the top of the stairs and rows of chairs facing the stage. And each stage was fitted with a handsome roll curtain. Behind this proud banner of theatre hung other drops, often interchangeable, and in some of these theatres the slots for the old-fashioned wing pieces can still be seen. Not all of these opera houses were plain plank affairs. Some of them were highly ornamented. A balcony ran around three sides of the hall, and this was decked with ornamental plaster—even cupids can be seen. Chandeliers varied in elaborateness, but there were always chandeliers.

In the bigger, older centres, full-fledged theatres sprang up from their own foundations, and those in Montreal and Toronto rivalled anything in New England. Few of these theatres are still in existence. Fire took its toll and office-builders snatched at valuable space. When the theatre was menaced by the motion-picture makers, however, in the second and third decades of the twentieth century, there were still many legitimate theatres for the buying.

The houses still-standing had served the visiting companies and the stars, when those luminaries appeared over the horizon. Such visitations were modest enough at first. A player of name would come attended by a manager only, at first, but later such exalted beings protected their reputations by bringing their chief supporting players, at least a suitably gifted and attractive leading lady, or leading gentleman, and a villain or two. Later

they were to come with whole companies, with elaborate mountings and full wardrobes. Then the situation started to become top-heavy and to crumble under its own weight.

The list of great figures of nineteenth-century theatre who appeared in Canada, and appeared regularly, is quite surprising. The English tragedian, Macready, for instance, played in Canada, and so did the Booths and the Barrymores in their day. Sarah Bernhardt was banned by the Bishop of Montreal, and did splendid business as a result. Edmund Kean was proud to have been made chief of a tribe of Canadian Indians and wore his feathers with delight. The noble company of Sir Henry Irving and Ellen Terry were praised by us, and after them, their tradition was upheld by such disciples as Sir John Martin-Harvey and Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson. Up from the United States came, regularly, Mrs. Fiske, Sothorn and Marlowe, the Scottish Shakespearean Robert Bruce Mantell, and Genevieve Hamper, George Arliss, Guy Bates Post, and Otis Skinner. The list is long and many coloured; it serves to demonstrate that Canada was a profitable territory for the players in those days.

They were all part of what was called "the road." They were its chief glory, and one of the first causes of its downfall. As their names became famous, these stars claimed bigger and bigger salaries. Often those salaries were paid at the expense of the supporting company. The competent actors with whom they had so proudly surrounded themselves were supplanted by less efficient, less expensive players. The public started to recognize the difference, and the dramatic critics pointed them out, flattering the celebrities the while.

That decline is first noted about 1910, but this did not mean that an end to the professional theatre was in sight. The stock companies flourished when the "road" came on bad days. Some of them became local institutions of dignity and wide support, and we may be sure that comparisons in the press often favoured the well-entrenched local company. Some of these enterprises

were definitely thread-bare, or became so in later years, but many were worthy and conscientious bodies, with the public's best interest at heart in bringing outstanding modern drama to Canada as soon as possible—after it had been recognized and acclaimed in London or New York. Of these, Vaughan Glaser's company is perhaps best remembered, for it played for six years in succession in Toronto, from 1921 to 1928, but others gained respect and patronage to match, including Cameron Matthews' English Players, Charles Hampden's British Players, the English Repertory Company, and the New Empire Company. Other cities had their favourites, too, if not as many as Toronto.

In the summer seasons, when everybody in town—or at least, all the carriage trade—was presumed to have gone to their country homes, the stock companies sometimes went on the road, to visit the smaller centres. These smaller cities greeted them as successors to the old barnstorming troupes. It is worth noting that among those barnstormers were to be found the first Canadian professionals. A notable example of these were the famous Marks brothers, who played all through the country.

What happened to the Canadian theatre in the second decade of the present century was not a disaster unique in itself. The same catastrophe was to strike the American "road" and even the English provinces, to a certain extent. With the stars asking too much money and the booking agencies realizing less and less profit, a fatal blow was delivered when the railway costs went up. Touring became almost an impossibility, for distances were great and became greater as the towns big enough to support the companies proved to be fewer and further apart. Costs of productions also rose as standards went up.

By the late 1920's the motion-picture industry had become firmly entrenched, financially and in public esteem. The distributors of films bought up all the available theatres and built lavish new ones. The new theatre owners proved unwilling to rent their properties to the old-fashioned competition. Why



should they, when the motion pictures were offering better and better entertainment, attractions which never declined in standard when seen in a small, out-of-the-way centre?

The loss of the legitimate theatre was noted and bewailed. It might have struck thinking Canadians as a greater loss if the country had evolved its own dramatic literature before motion pictures became coherent and started to talk. But what difference did it make if, instead of being supplied with American and English entertainment by rail, they were now supplied with the same commodities in tin cans? And all parts of the Dominion were equally served? The method of presentation was certainly less exhilarating, but the bill of fare was much the same.

When radio took hold of the country, it proved a little more stimulating to the thin line of Canadians huddled along the border of its southern neighbour, as if in an effort to keep warm. For the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation was soon set up to save Canada from the vulgar excesses of American commercialism, and also from its vulgar successes. There was a new hope born for the Canadian drama, and to a certain degree this hope was realized by Canadian writers, who found for the first time a theatrical medium which was interested in their ideas. The public accepted this and got some satisfaction from the high standards in radio drama achieved later under Andrew Allan and Esse Ljungh of the CBC. And, when it came to comedy, that public could always tune in across the border. Perhaps the sense of achievement was felt more particularly by the participants in this development. A new acting profession centered around the CBC studios in Toronto. There were new names known: John Drainie, Budd Knapp, Tommy Tweed, Frank Peddie, Jane Mallett, for instance, and they were known across the continent.

But the outlook for the legitimate stage was bleak. The English companies had petered out after the last noble tours of Sir John Martin-Harvey and the later, equally gallant attempts by Barry Jones and Maurice Colbourne. The American companies never ceased to flow entirely, for the Royal Alexandra in To-

ronto is maintained as a successful touring house even to this day, and Montreal's His Majesty's, although owned by film people, has survived to become Her Majesty's once again. But the flow was certainly limited and no longer trickled across country.

The theatre instinct, however, showed up elsewhere, and in a humbler, more indigenous form. When imported theatre receded from the land, Canadian citizens took a hand at last. Amateur dramatic societies had never been wholly absent from the Canadian scene since the days of the garrison theatres. Now they flourished mightily. An enterprise uniting them, called the Theatre Guild of Canada, had been attempted, but it proved premature. The more serious groups rallied around the banner of the governor general, who set up the Earl Grey Musical and Dramatic Trophy Competition, in operation as early as 1907. Five such competitions were held before the dramatic part of this first festival, for such it was, collapsed in 1911.

But the Little Theatre movement, as it was later to be known, did not collapse. It grew apace after World War I. The Ottawa Drama League was launched in 1913, and the Players Club of the University of British Columbia started in 1915. The Players Club of the University of Toronto began in 1916. From this latter group sprang the celebrated Hart House Theatre, and the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, later the first Canadian to become governor general, was a member of it, as was his actor-brother Raymond.

The vice-regal Massey was responsible for building Hart House Theatre in 1919. Soon there were dramatic societies and clubs all across the Dominion, some of them conceived on a lofty plane—such as the Montreal Repertory Theatre, founded by Martha Allan in an effort to supply the need for a theatre operating in both French and English. Hart House itself became the home of a notable theatre group and only in the last ten years (starting 1946) has been turned over to University Theatre. Although their names were not to be as widely sung as the first radio actors, the Hart House players—Ivor Lewis, Frank

Rostance, and Nancy Pyper among them—were recognized as having theatrical distinction.

It was not until 1933 that a form of national theatre emerged out of all this chaos of good intentions. Again the help was to come from a governor general. In 1932 the incumbent of Rideau Hall, the Earl of Bessborough, summoned representatives of leading theatre bodies to Ottawa. The Dominion Drama Festival was established then, with regional competitions held the next spring. The first D.D.F. finals—for this Festival was also competitive—were held in Ottawa in May 1933, with the late Colonel Henry Osborne of Ottawa as president.

With a brief, and not altogether creditable, abstention during World War II, this Dominion Drama Festival has been in operation ever since. At last, Canada had its own theatre, sporadic and unprofessional as it was. Several generations of actors, who would have swelled the ranks of the profession had there been one, maintained themselves by other occupations during the day and play-acted, most seriously, by night. The visiting adjudicators, almost invariably brought from England, were surprised at the standards reached by players and producers.

There were many changes as the D.D.F. organization grew and expanded. Today there are thirteen regions, some of them subdivided with preliminary competitions necessary to weed out the entries. When it started operations again, after the war, the Festival was open to amateur and professional players alike, playing full-length plays with full theatrical accoutrement. When its growth gave rise to financial difficulties, a commercial backer for the enterprise, a distillery, was found.

It is impossible to underrate the importance of this still basically amateur competition in surveying the picture of theatre in Canada today. Where a new professional theatre is emerging, the deeper roots go back to the Dominion Drama Festival and its member bodies. Where the professional theatre is yet to emerge, the amateur companies carry on. Whatever the future of the Canadian theatre, the Dominion Drama Festival will con-

tinue for a long time, one feels, in its present state of usefulness. Perhaps later it will dwindle into the village drama of other countries, but for years to come it will very likely continue to serve—bridging the wide spaces between theatrical centres and the long months between tours. It must continue to serve as schooling and opportunity for the fledgling actors, directors, and designers.

Nevertheless, the Dominion Drama Festival is something of a sieve for talent. The sporadic effort, the change in personnel, the lack of continuing energy—because working for it cannot be a full-time job—these are as much part of the Festival as its sporting spirit, its excitement, and its camaraderie. Some notable adjudicators have brought their wisdom to it—including Harley Granville-Barker, J. T. Grein, Michel St. Denis—but their good advice has seeped away in the constant change of personnel of a Festival. Groups do not return to the finals many years in succession, and when they do return their personnel have generally changed.

For all the inadequacy of the Dominion Drama Festival as a firm supporter of theatrical tradition and of standards in this country, it is certainly out of the Festival rather than out of the long-gone stock companies and visiting touring companies that the present professional theatre springs. But that new development is as much fed by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation radio drama and television as by any legitimate force, amateur or professional.

The CBC is a body closer in structure to the British Broadcasting Corporation than to any of the American networks. It combines commercial sponsorship with government control in a manner which would be deemed impossible beyond its borders. Its influence on Canadian theatre has been enormous since it was established in 1936 to succeed the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, in operation since 1932. Most of the people who would have turned to theatre for expression turned to the CBC as the only mildly creative medium paying a living wage at the

time. Their contributions, fitting narrowly into a structure basically that of a civil service, have been important. We have spoken of some of the radio actors who emerged, and the radio producers. When the CBC plunged into the vastly more expensive medium of television in September 1952, new names emerged and new places were created for the workers in theatre arts.

One is tempted to say that Canada has the kind of radio and television it deserves, too, for while its programs and policies are much criticized, it steers an often admirable balance between entertainment and education, achieving neither most of the time but missing by narrower and narrower margins as it gains confidence.<sup>1</sup> It has encouraged writers, it has encouraged directors, and it has given actors and artists new strength. It has also enriched the selective segments of the Canadian public with special artistic treats. Its main weaknesses are timidity, lack of imagination, and fear of vulgarity. But it was designed to provide a chain of high-power stations across Canada and to unify a scattered country—just as the Canadian Pacific Railroad was established with Confederation—and it serves this major purpose. Canadians from sea to sea share its news broadcasts, its hockey reports, its symphony concerts, and its Stage Series, and are as one.

Let us turn now to that new development, the Canadian professional theatre as it appears today. Without the Stratford Shakespearean Festival, now entering its fourth year, that picture would still look grim—for the influence of this body can be felt pulsating behind most other theatre ventures, directly or indirectly influencing them. With it, the picture is bright, edged in gold and full of the happy, even if false, perspective of glorious vistas.

Started in 1953, twenty years after the Dominion Drama Festival, it is a curious outcropping of native innocence, sporting spirit, and simple faith in help from abroad, all sound Canadian

<sup>1</sup> See "Is TV a Threat?" a symposium in *Queen's Quarterly*, LXIII (Summer 1956), 265.

characteristics. The dream of a Stratford, Ontario, citizen, Tom Patterson, it was backed by a notable community effort and guided by a superb general, Tyrone Guthrie, the six-foot-four Irish director who mustered the acting talent in Canada by some clairvoyant means, augmented it with talent from England, which has included Alex Guinness, Irene Worth, James Mason, Douglas Campbell, and Frederick Valk, and gave Stratford three smashing summer seasons in a tent which houses a superb free-form Elizabethan stage designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch, top designer of the English stage. The plays have been *All's Well That Ends Well*, the Festival's most spirited achievement, and an exciting *Richard III* (1953); an impressive *Oedipus Rex*, masked and ritualistic, a wildly farcical *The Taming of the Shrew*, and a less successful *Measure for Measure*, which needed the Guthrie touch, being directed by the director's first production head, Cecil Clarke (1954). Guthrie's next production at Stratford was *The Merchant of Venice* (1955), starring Frederick Valk. Then Dr. Guthrie turned over his position of director to Michael Langham, who had directed a most commendable *Julius Caesar* that same year. Mr. Langham revised the company slightly and staged an impressive *Henry V* and a full-text, dullish *The Merry Wives of Windsor* for the 1956 season, winning much respect for his mingling of English and French-Canadian actors in the former. And Stratford proudly accepted the invitation of the Edinburgh Festival to take a production there in August of that year, the first English-speaking company from abroad to be honoured by the major arts festival in Britain.

Dr. Guthrie's connection was not broken entirely. He rallied the company for an 1956 invasion of Broadway, repeating his 1952 Old Vic production of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* and importing Anthony Quayle, actor-director of the Stratford-upon-Avon Memorial Theatre, as its star. Dr. Guthrie also prepared the revival of his *Oedipus Rex*, which shared the Edinburgh's Festival Hall stage with Mr. Langham's *Henry V*.

At the end of 1956 the familiar tent was dismantled and

there rose on its site a \$1,500,000 building, designed to carry out the circular form of the original. Thus Canada's Stratford could claim, as Stratford-on-Avon and Stratford, Connecticut, can not, a theatre devoted to those principles of Shakespearean staging first preached by William Poel before the turn of the century. The opening play in this long-awaited theatre was *Hamlet*, given first on July 1, 1957, with Christopher Plummer as the Prince, under Michael Langham's direction. Dr. Guthrie returned to produce the season's second play, *Twelfth Night*, with the Irish actress, Siobhan McKenna, as Viola.

Both of the Stratford excursions abroad have been perhaps overstressed in importance, but Canadians depend desperately on approval from relatives and friends, a colonial attitude which can only be cured, presumably, by winning that approval from which may develop a critical opinion of what the country needs for itself. Stratford's Festival has already done this to a greater extent than any other enterprise. That fine, sad little comic, Gratien Gelinas, affectionately nick-named Fridolin, rode out of Montreal, after years of original revues, to tackle Broadway in *Tit-Coq*, in 1951, and was beaten back within three days. The CBC annually marches off with American radio awards, and the documentaries of the National Film Board are highly regarded by all the people who regard documentaries highly. But Stratford's Festival succeeded in attracting both national and international admiration, praise, and press coverage.

The effect of Stratford was tremendous. The actors who played at Stratford became overnight the aristocracy of their profession. Before them, the radio actors were the national leaders. Now the new names were Donald Harron, Barbara Chilcott, Eric House, Lloyd Bochner, Donald Davis, William Hutt, and William Shatner. Among their ranks were some who had made the jump from radio drama, players like the distinguished Eleanor Stuart, Lorne Greene, William Needles, and Robert Christie, all playing star roles at Stratford. And to their ranks were added the names of the British actors who joined

the company: Douglas Campbell from the Old Vic, Antony Van Bridge from the Young Vic. There are also such young Canadians as have been brought back from outside to appear at their national festival: Frances Hyland, Richard Easton, Douglas Rain, and Christopher Plummer, a compelling young classical actor who is Stratford's first real Canadian star as Henry V.

The Stratford Festival is clearly the dominant force in Canadian theatre today, bulwarked by its appearances on Broadway and Edinburgh and by a moving little documentary, *The Stratford Adventure*, made by the National Film Board. Around its theatrical core have been developed a Music Festival and also other attractions: 1955's *Tale of a Soldier*, which introduced the French mime, Marcel Marceau, to many American and Canadian audiences; 1956's *Rape of Lucretia*, a Canadian *première*; and Montreal's Théâtre du Nouveau Monde, whose Molière farces were popular side attractions for 1956. A film of Guthrie's *Oedipus Rex* has also been made with plans to film the First Folio at Stratford.

Out of the Stratford Festival has emerged The Canadian Players, another Tom Patterson idea, brought to vigour under the direction of the pugnacious Scottish actor, Douglas Campbell. This company carries platform drama to the country, dispensing with scenery and period costumes. Its first venture, Shaw's *Saint Joan*, had Mr. Campbell's wife, Ann Casson (daughter of the original interpreter of the role, Dame Sybil Thorndike) as Joan. The second season found first Frances Hyland as Joan, then Norma Renault, with the company adding another play to its repertory, *Macbeth*, starring first William Hutt, later Mr. Campbell. Prominent members of the company have also included William Needles, Bruno Gerussi, Roland Hewgill, John Gardner, Ted Follows, and Amelia Hall, all of them contributors to Stratford. Their third tour consisted of *Peer Gynt* and *Hamlet*, with a second company taking out *Man and Superman* and *Othello*.

One could say that The Canadian Players emerged from Strat-



ford as easily as one could say *Tamburlaine the Great* did, but to say that Toronto's Crest Theatre did would be an overstatement. This fine repertory theatre started in January 1954, after Stratford's first season, by which it was undoubtedly inspired, but its origins lay closer to the grassroots of Canadian theatre.

It is safe to say that summer is a very good time for professional theatre in Canada. Stratford is a summer venture which looks as if it might become a year-round venture. The Crest Theatre, too, had its beginnings in a summer company. And a number of summer theatres have nourished a modest professionalism in the land, among them the now extinct John Holden Players, who acted at Bala, starting in 1934; the longest lasting one, the Brae Manor Theatre (1935) launched by Madge and the late Filmore Sadler at Knowlton, in Quebec's Eastern Townships; the Mountain Playhouse in Montreal, started by Joy Thomson; the Peterborough Summer Theatre; the Niagara Falls Summer Theatre; the Garden Centre Theatre at Vineland; the Niagara Barn Theatre; and the Red Barn at Jackson's Point. They have a precarious existence, but they have kept audiences entertained and actors working and learning.

Two of the summer theatre operations, those at Gravenhurst and Port Carling in the Muskoka Lake district, were operated by the Davis brothers, Murray and Donald, who after half-a-dozen years opened the Crest Theatre in Toronto as a full-fledged repertory. They emerged, as many of their company did, from the ranks of university actors at Hart House Theatre, having learned their trade under the direction of Robert Gill. Other university theatres, from the Maritimes to British Columbia, have made their contributions to this growing professional theatre, as well as trained audiences for it.

The last and perhaps greatest impetus to this professionalism came with the introduction of television to Canada. Where radio launched the Canadian professional actor, television has given him a recognizing audience and a better salary. It carries him through the winter months, the months between Stratford.

So there we have the various contributing factors which go to help establish a Canadian professionalism in the theatre. Conditions for a native-born theatre were never more promising in the history of the country, although it is better not to compare these conditions with those of other nations yet. Now who is missing? The playwright.

The writing of plays is surely the most subtle and most difficult of creative tasks, for it depends on so many ingredients which change daily. A play is not truly a play until it is interpreted by players, and good ones are necessary. It is not proved as a play until it has played before audiences. Up to now, Canadian writers have not had sufficient reason to believe that their plays will receive a proper hearing in their own country, although various organizations, such as the pioneering, prospering New Play Society, the Jupiter Theatre, and the Crest Theatre, have staged the works of Canadian playwrights. But the revenue a professional writer can expect in the country he knows and is writing about is very small at best; for the playwright it is almost infinitesimal. Robertson Davies, most popular of the Canadian playwrights, commands much more as a novelist and humorist. Other playwrights—Merrill Denison, Joseph Schull, Patricia Joudry, and Stanley Mann—must either go away or turn to other fields, if they depend on their writing for their living. But television lets the playwright work not too far away from the medium of his choice, and so there is hope there.

That is the one commodity common to all branches and members of the Canadian theatre today—hope. The dark days of the century can now be seen to have served an important purpose. Canadians were thrown back on their own resources. Canadians are a people trained to think of themselves as sitting atop the greatest natural resources in the world, smugly wearing the label of The Country with the Greatest Future. In the theatre, as in many other fields of development, that future is upon us now. What emerges in the next few years will be of greatest importance, if it matches that which has emerged in the past decade

or so. If Canada has come slowly to its theatre, it may have come wisely. The theatre it evolves may now be able to draw what it wants from the three older cultures and add what it needs beyond that to provide a strong and true expression of its own kind of life and its own kind of people. If Canada reaches for the theatre it deserves, it must find new forms and new ideas, perhaps even a new language. As a theatre growing up in the twentieth century, aided and abetted by the mechanical media of showmanship instead of opposed by them, it should certainly be worth watching for and waiting for, although the waiting period has been an uncommonly long one.

## The Social Sciences

SOCIAL and historical thought is to a peculiar degree formed by the very forces it seeks to interpret. So it is illuminating, in describing the social sciences and history in Canada, to begin with some impressions of the social and historical impulsions that seem to have shaped contemporary Canadian writing in these fields.

Canada started late as a nation, and with relatively sparse human resources. The ninety years of its nationhood have been dominated by two endeavours—the same two that had dominated the life of the separate colonies which were united to form Canada—expansion and survival. Expansion of population, of settlement, and of production were essential from the beginning, at first for political survival, and always for cultural survival, in face of the older and more powerful United States. And within the broad problem of survival of the nation as such, there has been constantly the inner problem of the survival of the culture of French Canada in face of the superior wealth and numbers of the English-speaking Canadians. The patterns of social and historical thought in Canada, their rates and directions of growth, have been shaped in various ways by the two impulsions of expansion and survival, which in a sense, contain each other.

*The Impulsions to Canadian Social Thought*

The expansion which had been hoped for in 1867, when Canada was created as a continental nation, did not come until the turn of the century. When it came, it set institutional problems—economic, political, and social—that needed analysis and historical interpretation. Many of the problems were, because of the lateness and rapidity of the expansion, peculiar to Canada, or at least had not been sufficiently solved elsewhere. The fiscal relations between the federal government and the provinces, the unusual and changeable division of power between federal and provincial legislatures, the implications of Canadian autonomy within the British Commonwealth, the ethnic problems resulting from immigration and settlement on a different pattern from that of the United States, the role of government in providing the basic transportation and power facilities to encourage industrial expansion, problems of tariff and trade arrangements, the role of central banking, these and other problems of equal magnitude had not been posed in the same terms in other countries.

All such problems, of course, had to be dealt with as they arose—and most of them have arisen recurrently—by the politicians. It gradually became realized, perhaps from the fact that the politicians could never get the problems settled, that the cultivation of some specifically Canadian social sciences would be advantageous. The universities, sensing the need and the demand, and supported in this by leaders in business and in public life, made increasing provision for the study of economics, history, and political science. Responding to the opportunities thus opened up, a body of Canadian scholars established itself in each of these fields within one or two academic generations. Increasing slowly in number, they have been the main authors of the social and historical writing of our time. Some of them have turned their attention directly to problems that currently demand political solution. Others have taken a deeper and longer

view, trying rather to discover the elements and analyse the interrelations of forces which have created, or which make up, the problems. With this proviso, we may say that social and historical writing continues to be shaped by the two impulsions—expansion and survival—which brought them into being.

The two impulsions have operated differently in French-Canadian and English-Canadian thought. In economics, political science, and sociology the difference is mainly in the degree of development; in history it is rather a difference in kind.

It is not surprising that there have always been two histories in Canada. In all countries, history lends itself, more fully and more immediately than any other social studies, to nationalist ambitions and to the struggle for cultural survival; and in French Canada the struggle for cultural survival dominates intellectual life. For the French-Canadian historians, history is an instrument in the service of the survival of the French-Canadian community and culture. It is deliberately a moralizing history, drawing from the proud record of French Canada lessons of strength in adversity and of the supreme importance of treasuring the traditional French-Canadian values.

English-Canadian historians, more pragmatic, and unattached to a philosophy, have not been in a position to see themselves as guardians of a culture. For them history has rather been a way of discovering the interplay of forces that have made the political institutions and the whole life of Canada what they now are. They do not write in the imperative mood. But since they differ in their assessments of the formative forces and do not conceal their high or low opinions of motives and policies, they are in effect generally arguing a case for one line of national development rather than another. And in doing so they contribute, in their various perspectives, to the development of a Canadian national consciousness.

When we turn from history to the other social sciences—or should we say, adopting a terminology that is more usual and perhaps more acceptable to all concerned, when we turn from

history to the social sciences—we find that they also have fared differently in the two Canadian cultures.

Until very recently those who form French-Canadian thought tried to resist the advances of industrial capitalism by having nothing to do with it. Consequently they had no use for the social sciences, which in their characteristic English and American form were devoted to understanding and furthering the growth of industrial civilization and adjusting traditional institutions to its requirements. Official French Canada preferred to press the concepts of a Catholic social philosophy as far as they could be taken in the service of resistance to the values and the institutions of industrial capitalism. In the last two decades the church, which controls education and dominates intellectual life in French Canada, has somewhat changed its policy of resistance; instead of ignoring the forces of industrialism it has sought to tame them and to share in controlling them. So it has come to encourage the study and development of the social sciences with a view to enabling French Canadians to take their place in industry and in the state by mastering the techniques of social control to be found, especially, in economics. The auspices under which this development has taken place have determined that the social sciences in French Canada are consciously informed by and subordinated to a Catholic social philosophy.

The social sciences are still so new in French Canada that one cannot tell what direction they will take. They may, as they grow in volume, take on more of the outlook and emphasis of the social sciences in the rest of Canada. Economics particularly may be expected to do so, for the general objective of French-Canadian social sciences can be attained in economics only by getting a thorough grasp of the outsiders' techniques and so meeting them on their own ground. Sociology, which in French Canada tends to include and overshadow political science, is not so circumstanced. Its problems are rather problems of understanding the changes within the French-Canadian community.

Being largely concentrated on this special field of enquiry, French-Canadian sociology does not need to come to terms with its Anglo-American counterpart to the same extent as the economists must do. Nevertheless, for reasons that will become apparent, the lines of French- and English-Canadian sociology are already converging.

In English-speaking Canada the pattern of development of the social sciences, not yet equally worked out in every branch of them, is rather like the pattern of development of the Canadian economy itself. In all the stages of its expansion the Canadian economy has grown by importing, and applying to the abundant natural resources, techniques, capital, and labour from more mature countries, especially Britain and the United States. In this process, the imported labour became Canadianized, and Canadian capital grew up alongside the imported capital, though the techniques did not require much alteration. As with the economy itself, so with the understanding of it; Canadian scholarship in the social sciences began by the importation of economics, political science, and sociology as mature and well-established techniques from Britain and the United States. Initially the practitioners of these techniques were also largely imported. But here the parallel ends. For whereas the economy could be developed with imported methods and equipment which needed little adaptation, the economy and society could not be fully understood or mastered by the use only of imported social science and social scientists. It was many decades before this became apparent, or before it became widely enough realized to lead to the appearance of any characteristically Canadian social science. Economics and political science got their start in Canadian universities in the 1870's and 1880's, but until the 1920's it was imported economics and political science that was taught, and usually by imported professors. Little of any significance had been written by Canadians in these fields. From the 1920's there has been a remarkable flowering of Canadian work and writing, as a growing body of skilled Canadian social



scientists became established in the universities. More and more areas of investigation and analysis of Canadian society have been opened up.

The advance has been pushed farthest in economics, where new concepts in the fields of economic history and economic policy have been developed and successfully applied with a vigour and independence of their own. The effects of this development have been most notable in the increased strength and effectiveness of federal government policy. It has had an important effect too, as we shall see, on Canadian historical thought and writing. Canadian political scientists have laid the broad foundations of an understanding of the process of Canadian government in relation to modern social forces, and they are continuing to build on those foundations. In sociology it is chiefly the growth of the Canadian community and the problems of ethnic groups that have come under critical and understanding scrutiny.

With this brief sketch of the formative influences on Canadian social sciences and history in general we may now look at the currents of thought and the achievements in each of the various divisions.

### *History*

The prevailing tone of French-Canadian historical writing in our time was set just over a hundred years ago. It has scarcely altered since; the histories written in the last few decades have been written in the shadow of the classic *Histoire du Canada* by François-Xavier Garneau, which was first published in 1843. The reason for this remarkable stability is simple. Garneau was the first to see that the survival of French Canada as a cultural entity depended on his compatriots' attaining a consciousness of themselves as a people, and, having seen this, to produce a history for the purpose of arousing and strengthening that consciousness. The purpose of French-Canadian historical writing has not changed to this day, for history is still needed as

a weapon in the struggle for survival. And it is characteristic that the French-Canadian historians think of this as *national* survival: even the most moderate of them find nothing incongruous in the phrase "la nationalité franco-canadienne."

While the purpose of French-Canadian history has remained unchanged, there have of course been changes of emphasis. The original pattern has been modified in different directions by those who have taken different views as to the best strategy of national survival. Garneau wrote at the time when things seemed blackest. In 1840 the British government had attempted a policy of submergence of French Canada, and the document which foreshadowed that policy—Lord Durham's famous *Report*—had explicitly argued that the French Canadians were fit for assimilation because they were a people without literature and without history. Hence Garneau's determination that they should have a history, and hence the lesson he taught: "Que les Canadiens soient fidèles à eux-mêmes, qu'ils soient sages et persévérants, qu'ils ne se laissent point séduire par le brillant des nouveautés sociales et politiques!"<sup>1</sup> The French Canadians were to resist assimilation by stubbornly cultivating their own way of life—their religion, their customs, their family, their language. The British policy of assimilation, successfully resisted, was soon abandoned. French Canada survived that particular onslaught, but ever since then its leaders have believed that the price of survival included a lively historical consciousness of itself.

The inward-looking and purely defensive nationalism of Garneau sufficed through the rest of the nineteenth century; apart from one or two historians such as J. B. A. Ferland (1805–1865), who developed and perfected Garneau's theme, no serious historical work was done, though there was a host of popularizers. Even today Garneau's work has not been entirely outmoded: his *Histoire* has been republished seven times, four times in this century (1913, 1920, 1928, 1944–46) and he can still be

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire du Canada*, 8th ed. (Montreal, 1946), IX, 151.

called "notre historien national." It is indeed at first sight surprising that the cultural leaders of French Canada were so tardy in encouraging the production of professional historians. No serious historical training was offered in French-Canadian universities until 1945; before that, while there were chairs in Canadian history, the teaching was limited to courses of evening lectures. This lack of opportunity for professional training perhaps reflects the long-standing demand for declamatory rather than scholarly history, but it did not prevent the emergence of some scholarly historians who hoped to strengthen the lessons of French-Canadian history by fresh research and interpretation.

The need for fresh interpretation became evident as the terms of the problem of survival changed. Garneau's policy of passive withdrawal, appropriate enough in his day, was seen to be increasingly inadequate against the more impersonal and insidious pressures of industrialization and Americanization. Soon after the turn of the century a new strategy of cultural survival was needed. In fact, not one but two opposed strategies emerged during the first two decades of this century and found adherents at every level of political and intellectual life. The two schools of French-Canadian history prevailing today were formed around the two different strategies. Each school finds in the past lessons to support its view of presently needed policy.

Thomas Chapais (1858-1947) is generally acknowledged as the leader of the first of these schools. Lawyer, newspaper editor, politician of cabinet rank in Quebec provincial politics, and later a member of the Canadian Senate, Chapais began re-writing Canadian history some years before his appointment as professor of history at Laval University in 1907 and crowned his work with his *Cours d'histoire du Canada, 1760-1841* (8 vols., 1919-1934). In the preface to the last volume Chapais summed up its purpose: "L'évolution politique de la nationalité franco-canadienne depuis la conquête, voila donc quel a été le

sujet de cet ouvrage.”<sup>2</sup> The survival of French-Canadian nationality so far had been due, he argued, to the successful policy of statesmen like Cartier, Lafontaine and Laurier, a policy of full political co-operation with English-Canadians in the hope of winning a larger sphere of influence for French Canadians. French Canada must still assiduously cultivate its own way of life, as Garneau had insisted, but political co-operation rather than withdrawal was now the strategy of survival. This attitude, shared by a substantial following, has led to considerable scholarly reinterpretation of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century history, in which the English appear no longer as oppressors but as just and principled men who will respond with goodwill to co-operation offered in good faith. The leading exponent of the *entente cordiale* in recent years has been the Abbé Arthur Maheux (b. 1884), professor of Canadian history at Laval University from 1938 to 1954, whose *Ton histoire est une épopée* (1941) is a striking contribution to the revaluation of French-English relations in Canadian history.

Sharply opposed to the conciliatory school stand the extreme French-Canadian nationalists, of whom the inspirer and leading figure is the Abbé Lionel Groulx (b. 1878), professor of Canadian history at the University of Montreal since 1915. He scorns the *bonne-ententistes*, for he is convinced that they underrate the spiritual and political strength of French Canada. For him the French Canadians have a high mission, to establish a French-Canadian nation which, though it may remain within the Canadian federation, will stand on its own rights. He has preached incessantly that French Canada should neither passively withdraw nor actively co-operate, but should cultivate her differences and take the political offensive in demanding a greater measure of autonomy than she now enjoys. The strategy of survival is proud defiance, and even a cultivation of the latent antipathy between French and English.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. VIII, p. vii.

Believing as he does that history must not evade its responsibility "d'inspirer, sinon de formuler, des disciplines d'action,"<sup>3</sup> Groulx's historical work is suffused with the cult of pride and antagonism. He has attracted an ardent following of younger historians who, although outnumbered by the moderates, have set up a clamant opposition. While all French-Canadian history is avowedly propagandist, theirs is exceptionally so, for they have much of their time been seeking to inspire not merely a frame of mind but also immediate and direct political action. Whether Groulx has been more effective as a pamphleteer than as a historian is difficult to decide, but the diversion of his energy to political activism has somewhat impaired his historical writing in recent decades. His most substantial connected historical work, *Histoire du Canada français depuis la découverte* (4 vols., 1950-1952) falls short of the scholarly work his readers had hoped for, being a popular history prepared as an extensive series of radio talks.

To turn from the French- to the English-Canadian historians is to turn to a different world. The French-Canadian historian can never forget the problem of survival; whatever the strategy he espouses he comes to history to find support for it and he writes history to gain support for it; and his work has a vitality and immediacy not generally associated with academic historical writing elsewhere. The English-Canadian historian, on the contrary, is generally an academic first and a publicist not at all. He may have a political faith, but it does not dominate his history. It does not need to, because there has been little call for his services as an intellectual patriot. That is not to say that his political values do not affect his history; they do, but the influence is diffuse.

It is true that there have been and are different, even opposed, schools of English-Canadian history, whose adherents may be distinguished by their different political beliefs, and chiefly their beliefs as to which Canadian policy—closer relations with Britain

<sup>3</sup> *Directives* (Montreal, 1937), p. 9.

or closer relations with the United States—is more conducive to the vital motion of the Canadian nation. But their convictions about this do not generally dominate their historical writing, perhaps because they have not generally been conscious of any great or constant danger.

Also, since English-Canadian historians have no reason to restrict themselves to that one segment of Canadian history which has always been of overwhelming concern to their French-Canadian confreres, they have had a wider and more complex subject matter. Obviously their central interest would be the building of the Canadian nation. But this has been in fact a very diversified affair, not unified by any such obvious forces as the American Revolution or the moving frontier, and not accompanied or assisted from the beginning by any intense national consciousness.

The main themes of the history written by English Canadians in this century have been three: the struggle for responsible government in the mid-nineteenth century, Confederation and the development of national political institutions, and the achievement of full autonomy within the British Commonwealth. The first two were the staple of historians down to the 1920's; the third was added as a growing sense of Canadian nationalism made autonomy an issue of general political concern and of special interest to the historians. The three together comprise what is unique in Canadian political development as a whole, marking off its institutions from those of Britain and those of the United States.

Responsible government meant cabinet government on the British, not the American, pattern. It was achieved in much the same way the British had achieved it, by compelling the Crown to admit the conventional rule that the executive power of the Crown should be exercised by ministers who had the confidence of the majority of the elected legislative body. Yet the cabinet system had to be made to work in a North American environment. The political forces and party alignments that brought

about responsible government, and the subsequent working of the two principles—cabinet government requiring one type of party system, and the North American environment sometimes calling for a different type—have afforded fascinating material for the historians.

Confederation, the act by which Canada was established as a continental nation, has been a second natural focal point of historical interest. The act of Confederation created a nation whose federalism was markedly different from that of the United States. Here was federalism built on cabinet governments, with all the problems that this involved for a national party system. Here also was a deliberately non-American division of power between federal and provincial governments, a division which, considerably changed by later judicial interpretations, has led to a never-ending series of problems of Dominion-Provincial powers and responsibilities.

Finally, the development of autonomy in Canada's external relations, completing her political independence and enhancing her position in international affairs, comes as a fitting complement to the earlier themes, and a natural extension of them.

The three themes have been handled rather differently by historians of different generations and of different outlooks within the present generation. The differences, as we have noticed, relate mostly to their attitudes toward Britain and the United States. Before the 1920's the general tendency was to treat the emergence of responsible government and the establishment of a North American British nation as triumphs of British and Canadian statesmanship. The whole northern half of the continent had been saved as a British land by a mixture of the good sense of successive British governments and the good sense, patriotism, and energy of Canadian politicians who had learned the British virtues of firmness and compromise. The mixture that was indicated varied with the degree of British sentiment of the authors. But whatever the mixture, the implication generally was that the imperial tie was to be cherished

in order to consolidate the Canadian position against the expansionist pressures of the United States.

In the 1920's the imperial tie began to be viewed more critically, and less was heard of American dangers. There was a new note of national self-confidence, but it was blended still with admiration for the British inheritance. Canadian history was a record of the successful transplantation, by Canadians, of British institutions to a novel environment. In this tradition we may place many of the leading historians of the recent and present generations: George M. Wrong (1860-1948) professor at the University of Toronto from 1894 to 1927 and for many years the dean of Canadian historians, in, for instance, his *Canada and the American Revolution* (1935); Chester Martin (b. 1882), Wrong's successor at Toronto to 1952, in his *Empire and Commonwealth* (1929) and *Foundations of Canadian Nationhood* (1955); Reginald G. Trotter (1888-1951), professor at Queen's University, in his *Canadian Federation* (1924); and Chester New (b. 1882), professor at McMaster University, in his *Lord Durham* (1929).

Alongside such writers as these, there grew up in the 1920's and 1930's a more eagerly nationalist group, less inclined to welcome British influence than to see the British connection as hampering the further growth of Canada. The first writers of this outlook, with Liberal party sympathies, contributed significant studies of the work of Liberal political leaders. J. W. Dafoe (1866-1944), editor of the great Liberal daily, the *Winnipeg Free Press*, produced *Laurier: A Study in Canadian Politics* (1922) and *Canada, an American Nation* (1935); and O. D. Skelton (1878-1941), professor at Queen's University from 1907 to 1925, when he was appointed Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, established himself by his *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (2 vols., 1921).

Succeeding writers of a nationalist outlook developed considerably further the implications of the fact that Canada is an American nation. They were strengthened in this by the in-



creasing attention being given to economic and social factors in history. The more the forces of environment were stressed, the more it seemed that Canada's development was only to be understood as an American phenomenon and that Canada's future lay in closer relations with the United States. The nationalist historians, as one of their severest critics has put it, "set out to rescue Canada from the discredit of its all too British past, and to rehabilitate it as a decent American community. . . . If [Canada] was to have a typical North American future, then surely it must have had a typical North American past."<sup>4</sup>

The effort to rewrite Canadian history in this light, however displeasing to some, has yielded valuable results; it led to much fresh research and to fruitful new insights. Some of these, as was to be expected, came as adaptations of concepts already developed by historians in the United States. The Turner frontier thesis, which was so influential in United States history, was taken up extensively and was applied effectively by many writers, notably by F. H. Underhill (b. 1889), professor at the University of Toronto, in a series of penetrating papers on Canadian parties, and by A. S. Morton (1870-1945), professor at the University of Saskatchewan, in his *History of Prairie Settlement* (1938) and his *History of the Canadian West to 1870-1* (1939).

The Canadian proponents of the Turner frontier theory recognized quite early that it needed some modification to be applicable to Canada. If democracy in the United States had been born and nurtured in the social equality and individualism of the ever-moving western frontier, the same could not be said of all stages of the development of Canadian democracy. The last fifty years at least of Canadian western expansion had been dominated by the metropolitan centres of the east. But the frontier theory, modified into a more general environmental determinism, still left the American environment as the chief

<sup>4</sup> D. G. Creighton: "Sir John Macdonald and Canadian Historians," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXIX (March 1948), 10-11.

determinant of Canadian history. The best-known exponent of this view is A. R. M. Lower (b. 1889), professor at United College, Winnipeg, and subsequently at Queen's University, whose *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada* (1946) presents his mature view.

While a considerable group of historians were thus working out the implications of Canada's North American environment and stressing the links with the United States (even to the point of sharing in some cases the attitudes of midwestern American isolationism), another interpretation, equally environmentalist but less American in sympathies, was being developed. This interpretation starts from the view that the St. Lawrence River, with its extensions far into the continent, has been from the beginning the main determinant of Canadian history, political as well as economic. A commercial empire, based on Montreal, pressed forward along this natural route, competing strenuously by political as well as economic means against ever-expanding American enterprise, and finally created an economic dominion across the prairies and to the Pacific. The very formation of the Dominion of Canada as a political entity is seen as a result of the demands of those who ran the commercial empire of the St. Lawrence.

This interpretation swings the emphasis away from United States influences. Canada appears as a nation formed not by a northward extension of American ideas and institutions, but by the driving force of commercial enterprise that was native or English. The groundwork for this new view of political history was laid by the work of H. A. Innis (who will be discussed later as an economic historian), and has been most forcefully developed by Donald G. Creighton (b. 1902), professor at the University of Toronto, in his *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence* (1938) and his *Dominion of the North: A History of Canada* (1944).

This new environmentalism is far from being a strict economic or geographic determinism. The St. Lawrence and the rest of the

adamant geography of the country may have determined the lines within which development could take place, but they determined also that it would be the energy and skill of Canadians that would provide the driving force. Emphasis on the Laurentian environment thus led to a new and stronger Canadianism; the theme became the resourcefulness, skill, and devotion of Canadians, and especially Canadian political leaders, in driving ahead to the creation and consolidation of the new dominion.

Political history, one might say, has emerged all the stronger for its temporary immersion in economic history and geography. The human actors, who were rather pushed into the background by impersonal technological and economic forces in the first period of environmentalist history, have come out onto the stage again, and with a firmer tread. The most successful history to appear in the last few years has indeed been a political biography, written by the leading figure of the Laurentian school: Creighton's *John A. Macdonald*, in two volumes, *The Young Politician* and *The Old Chieftain* (1952, 1955).

Emphasis on the Laurentian environment as the main thread of Canadian history has had a further effect: it has led to a renewed and strengthened appreciation of the vital relation between Canada and the Old World of Britain and Europe. The Laurentian system extended out from as well as far into the land; the commercial empire of the St. Lawrence was based not only on a river but also on an ocean. As the implications of this fact came to be more thoroughly explored, the essential Canada again appeared to be less American. The Atlantic became a link attaching Canada to England and Europe, rather than a barrier throwing her into a purely American orbit. This view, massively established on the economic side by Innis' *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy* (1940), was developed in *The North Atlantic Triangle* (1945) by J. B. Brebner (b. 1895), professor of history at Columbia University and a Canadian. It is significant that this book, originally con-

ceived as a study of the interplay between Canada and the United States (being the final volume of a twenty-five-volume series of studies on Canadian-American relations), became a study of the triple lines of influence between Britain, Canada, and the United States.

It will be apparent, from this account of the main trends, how thoroughly Canadian historical writing has reflected the now dominant, now underlying, impulses of Canadian life itself. At one remove or another, Canadian history has both recorded and contributed to the survival of a nation. The patterns drawn by the different schools of historians are not perceptibly drawing nearer to a single design and are not likely to do so in the foreseeable future. It is not simply that the sources and directions of their inspiration are too divergent, but also that Canada is still young enough to be uncertain of its destiny. Historians are always impelled to read the past in terms of their view of the possible future. The more settled the future of any country appears, the more unity may be expected in its history. Canada's future is far from settled. And, in the measure that her future remains subject to controversy, no matter how the terms of the controversy may shift by reason of changes in the world balance of power or in the balance of the Canadian economy and society, her history will be a matter of disagreement.

History is obviously a part of a nation's culture; the social sciences not so. Much of the writing in the social sciences being necessarily technical, its cultural place is not so readily appreciable. It normally lacks both the narrative sweep that carries a good history and the intrinsic interest of, say, philosophy or poetry. This is especially true of the social sciences in a relatively new country, where they are necessarily devoted largely to institutional studies rather than to architectonic theoretical constructions. A list of the leading works of the last ten or twenty years in the social sciences in Canada would sound dull, and a large part of its contents would be dull to any but the

intensive student of Canadian society. Yet the list would conceal intellectual currents of some interest and importance, which may come to light in a survey of trends.

### *Economics*

We may begin with economics, which has grown the fastest of all the social sciences in Canada. We have already remarked that economics began as an imported subject and has only become naturalized within the last thirty years. It can now claim to be a native subject, by virtue of the body of original material that has been built up by the efforts of Canadian economists over the last thirty years. In 1920 there was virtually no Canadian material from which economics could be taught, with the double consequence that what was taught was theory which had been developed elsewhere and was not particularly appropriate to the Canadian economy and that governments did not make any great use of economists. In both respects the situation has now changed out of all recognition. Economics is now, one might say, a substantial and growing industry; the demand for economists by governments and business is formidable. We shall have occasion later to notice the not altogether happy effects of this.

In looking for lines of development in Canadian economics we should remind ourselves what economics is. It comprises a technique of analysis, a body of observed data, and "laws." The last, which are the definitive part of economic theory, are statements of the functional relations between the forces and factors which determine in various circumstances how much wealth is (and could be) produced and who gets it (or might get it) in what proportions. Contemporary economic theory typically comprises, at the broadest level, a general equilibrium theory of prices and production and, beyond that, many special branches—the theory of international trade, of money, of the business cycle, of employment and wages, and so on. As new phenomena in these special fields are observed and analysed, the special

theories and then the general theory must be either elaborated or recast. In other words, advances in economic theory, apart from refinements of analytical methods, come from observation of new or changed phenomena.

But not only must theory be adapted to new phenomena; it must also, in different countries, be adapted to the peculiar forces, whether geographic, political, or cultural, which distinguish each country's life. Thus, the various branches of theory which make up the analytical equipment of the modern economist have to be adapted to the national environment if they are to enable him to cope intellectually, and his governmental clients or employers to cope politically, with current economic problems. Theories developed and perfected in relation to the economies of Britain and the United States, while perhaps intellectually satisfying, could not by themselves be adequate instruments for analysing the economic life and difficulties of Canada. Neither Marshall's *Principles* nor Taussig's *Principles*, nor, later, Keynes's *General Theory*, could be applied directly to a country where the price system, though no doubt ultimately dominant, was complicated and distorted by significant national peculiarities. In Canada this distortion is evident in, for instance, the rigidities of overhead costs resulting from the rapid expansion of railways and of capital investment generally, and in political rigidities such as the tariff and the vested sectional interests which are concomitants of the same rapid expansion.

The fact that received economic theory needed such serious adaptation to make it a useful Canadian instrument largely explains the course of Canadian economic thought and investigation. It took a lot of hard work to describe and record systematically the institutions of production, finance, and trade, and still more to assess the forces that had led to their emergence and to show what adjustments and alterations in received theory were needed. The main body of Canadian economics has thus been institutional and historical, and the most effective work in these fields has been done with a view either to reshaping and

enriching theory or, more directly, to formulating effective policy. In either case, it has been done with a consciousness of the importance and omnipresence of political forces that obtrude into the structure of the Canadian economy.

Indeed, one of the main achievements of Canadian economics has been to show in some detail the close interdependence of political and economic structure. The constitutional structure of Canada has been to a large extent determined by the need to secure capital at favourable rates of interest and to promote the expansion of the economy: "Constitutional changes are a part of market operations" (Innis). In turn the political authorities, federal and provincial, have as a matter of course assumed large powers of control and protection, encouragement and regulation, of economic life.

This embrace of private enterprise and government is not at all unusual in new countries. In Canada it is the direct result of the fact that the natural resources, abundant but scattered, have always afforded the prospect of highly profitable exploitation and could most rapidly be made profitable by concentrating on the production of a few staples for export—fur and fish in the early days, wheat, forest products, and minerals today. This required a heavy import of capital and heavy government expenditure in railways, power developments, irrigation, land settlement, and so on. To support such investment, governments have been driven to all sorts of further encouragement of various industries and regions, notably by way of protective tariffs. They have also been driven to monetary and other regulatory policies to offset the extreme swings of an economy so dependent for its revenue on the unstable demand for and prices of a few staples, and so burdened by the fixed costs of interest on its capital indebtedness. And because the different regions of Canada, being unevenly developed, feel these problems at different times and to different extents, there is constant struggle both within federal politics and between federal and provincial governments for more favourable consideration for every region.

In addition, the fact that governments still own or control many rich natural resources, and feel some responsibility for the effective development of all resources, leads to a continuing high degree of government manipulation and regulation.

All this flows directly from the demands of private enterprise; the economy as a whole remains fundamentally a private-enterprise system, but the pattern of prices, markets, and profits is perennially complicated by the manifold involvement of governments and by the pressures on governments which their involvement invites. Just as the Canadian economy is in an exposed position due to its dependence on world prices for staples, so the political system has from the beginning been exposed, to an unusual extent, to the pressures of economic interest groups.

It is perhaps the fact that Canadian economics has had to become political economy, has had to a peculiar degree to press its analysis beyond the well-worn paths of English and American theory, that has given it an unusual vigour and penetration. Nowhere is this better exemplified than in the work of Harold A. Innis (1894-1952), professor at the University of Toronto, and the most profound and influential of Canadian economists. Primarily an economic historian, he was concerned that history should be developed so as to amplify and correct theory, and he did much, both by example and precept, to fashion Canadian economics along these lines. His first influential work, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (1930) laid the basis for the systematic study of Canadian economic growth, disclosing at once the geographical determinants, the driving force (which, taking for granted the profit and power dynamics of capitalist enterprise, he found in the application of changing technologies to abundant natural resources), and the effects in the concentration on staple industries and in the consequent political and economic problems. He broadened and deepened this work in subsequent volumes on *Problems of Staple Production in Canada* (1933), *Settlement and the Mining Frontier* (1936), and *The Cod Fisheries* (1940).



While much of his work in this period was, as the first and last of these titles indicate, concerned largely with the early stages of Canadian economic growth, numerous essays and papers of the 1930's and early 40's, such as those gathered into his *Political Economy and the Modern State* (1946), show that the bearing of all this on the current problems of Canadian society was never far from his mind. Problems of economic and political power, first seen as complications distorting the price system, took on more and more importance on their own account. His essays in this period already reflect the concern, which was to dominate his later work, with the destructive effects of power on the universities, on liberal values, and on Canadian culture—even on Western civilization.

The price system, which had been the basis of liberal culture, was seen in historical perspective as being increasingly submerged by concentrated aggregations of politico-economic power; economic nationalism and sectionalism were instruments with which the new industrial capitalism sought to dominate society by capturing the state. Searching for the causes and lines of direction of this change, Innis followed his earlier insight and looked for them in the technological sector. He had already been working on an analysis of the Canadian pulp and paper industry, and he turned this into an intensive study of technology and pricing factors in communications generally. What had been conceived as a study of one Canadian industry finally became a decade of study of the role of communications in civilization.

His purpose was to isolate from all the factors making for the rise and fall of civilizations the one factor of media of communication and to see how much could be explained by changes in its technique. From studies of the relation of the newspaper to modern economic development and to militarism, nationalism, and monopoly, he worked backward to the ancient empires, producing in his *Empire and Communications* (1950) an extraordinarily suggestive analysis of their dependence on the differing means of communication—the oral versus the written

tradition, and within the written, the effects of stone, clay, papyrus, and parchment. From this he worked forward again, with a broader perspective, to consider the modern consequences of the industrialization of communications. The pattern he had found in preindustrial communications was one of periods of creative expansion giving way to monopolies of knowledge (through monopolies of communication) which supported and were supported by hierarchies of state and church, these in turn being disturbed by new creative elements at the margin of the empire challenging the monopoly, and the survival of the empire then depending on a balance being attained between the old and the new forces.

Modern societies Innis found to be in a stage where the monopoly of power was based on a technique of communication (chiefly the printing press and newspapers) which pulverized the mind and rendered it incapable of taking a long view. The most advanced societies, especially the United States, were in imminent danger of being destroyed by this monopoly of communication, supporting and supported by a state which could not see beyond its closed circle of ideas or its immediate short-run problems. If such a society could not break out of the closed circle and reach an accommodation with more vigorous ideas and forms of organization, it would destroy itself. Thus in his last two sets of essays, *The Bias of Communication* (1951) and *Changing Concepts of Time* (1952), Innis had become the analyst of power, and his analysis led to grave doubts about the survival of civilization in America.

His was not a vague historical pessimism; it was a near-pessimism (for he had not entirely lost hope) based on solid and precise analysis of the dominant forces he saw beneath the surface of modern society. He drew attention repeatedly to the narrowness of contemporary economics, especially to the obsession of American economics with immediate national interests. Here, in the intellectual field he knew best, was further evidence of the fragmentation of culture brought about by the

march of industrial capitalism toward monopolies of political power. He urged his fellow social scientists to make a determined stand against the submergence of their own discipline.

His deepest concern, as a Canadian, was for the survival of Canadian freedom and culture, and he became outspoken in his view that its survival depended on tenacious resistance to further infection from the United States. It is perhaps a hopeful sign for American economics that in the last year of his life, when he had become a formidable critic of the culture of the United States and of the sickness of American economics, he was elected president of the American Economic Association.

It cannot be said that Innis' work is entirely typical of Canadian economics; his intellectual range and penetration made him unique in his generation, and though there is little in contemporary Canadian economics that does not bear some impress of his formative thinking, his later work drew him in directions strange to most of the others.

A more comprehensive view of the pattern of Canadian economic life is found in the work of another leading scholar, W. A. Mackintosh (b. 1895), professor at Queen's University, whose studies of the prairie economy published in the mid-1930's led on to the masterly volume *The Economic Background of Dominion-Provincial Relations* (1939), a study prepared for the Royal Commission on that subject and published as an appendix to its Report.

As was to be expected from the environment of Canadian economics, there has been comparatively little work in pure theory, but a few economists whose bent is for theory have worked from the theoretical rather than the institutional end. Significant contributions have been made particularly in economic dynamics, notably by B. S. Keirstead (b. 1907), professor successively at the universities of New Brunswick, McGill, and Toronto, whose *The Theory of Economic Change* (1948) extends some of the analytical techniques of static economics to

problems of change and suggests some applications to Canadian economic growth.

In French Canada economics has not yet made much headway. The two areas of research that have been given most attention are labour relations and fiscal problems, both matters of outstanding concern in Quebec province. Theory is represented by Roger Dehem, professor at the University of Montreal, whose *L'Efficacité sociale du système économique: Critériologie de la politique économique* (1952) is an exposition of "the fundamental abstract principles that ought to guide all economic policy." Since it makes a rigid distinction between efficiency and distributive justice, and deals only with the former, it avoids problems of political implication. Perhaps the most outstanding French-Canadian contribution to Canadian economics is *Le Fédéralisme canadien: Evolution et problèmes* (1954) by Maurice Lamontagne, written while he was professor at Laval University before his acceptance of a high government post at Ottawa. It is notable as the first attempt by a French-Canadian to put the thorny problems of Dominion-Provincial fiscal policy consistently and calmly to the test of economic theory and Canadian economic history. He concluded, on economic grounds, in favour of a policy of greatly increased Dominion taxing and spending power. The fact that the rector of Laval felt obliged to explain to the press that the university did not take responsibility for the author's opinions (which, he said, tended to sacrifice the essential liberties of the provinces) indicates the political obstacles to teaching and writing economics in French Canada at present.

It would be impossible, without compiling a mere catalogue, to give an adequate account of the contemporary published work of all Canadian economists; they have now opened up virtually every aspect of Canadian economic structure and process. By the end of the 1930's enough work of this kind had been done to make possible some restatement of standard economic

theory in terms more appropriate to the Canadian economy, though still only at an introductory level designed for university undergraduate use. Two such volumes were published at that time: *A Social Approach to Economics* (1939) by H. A. Logan (b. 1889), then professor at the University of Western Ontario and subsequently at the University of Toronto, and M. K. Inman, also professor at Western Ontario; and *An Introduction to Political Economy* (1941) by V. W. Bladen (b. 1900), professor at the University of Toronto.

The task of reshaping and enriching theory by institutional and historical studies is of course by no means completed. By its very nature it is a task that never can be finished. And its advance in Canada was delayed by a combination of events imposed from outside just at the time when the economists were getting well into their stride in the 1930's. The first event was the Keynesian revolution in economic theory, itself the result of the great depression. The striking change in general equilibrium theory initiated by Keynes altered the terms of the Canadian economists' problem, for here was virtually a new general theory to be related to the peculiarities of Canadian economic life. The attention of theorists shifted to the implications of Keynes's work for general theory, and the institutionalists and historians had either to rethink the bearing of their work or to press on in some danger of isolation from the new theoretical main currents.

The impact of the Keynesian revolution was of course a stimulus as well as a complication of the task; its net effect might have been to accelerate rather than retard the development of a Canadian economics, but the process was not allowed to work itself out. A more imperative interruption came with the entrance of Canada into the war in 1939. The energies of Canadian economists were rapidly pulled into wartime work. There was a heavy drain of senior economists from the universities to Ottawa, where their services were required to devise and administer price and wage controls and to work out monetary and fiscal measures

for the management of the war economy. The widely acknowledged success of Canada's wartime economic policies is evidence of the strength which Canadian economics had attained. But the pressure of immediate policy problems, while it undoubtedly quickened applied economics, impeded scholarly research and fundamental theoretical work.

Moreover, the government, having had a taste of economists during the war, has continued to indulge its appetite for them extensively, as the period of postwar reconstruction has merged into the age of the welfare state and the managed economy. Much of the best work in economics is now being done by economists in government employ, but the fact that it is being done for government purposes has two serious drawbacks from the point of view of the advance of economics. Much of it, being consumed directly by the policy makers, is never published and so does not make its maximum contribution to the advance of the science. And almost all of it is concerned with immediate policy problems, to the exclusion of long-range research and fundamental theoretical work. If there were enough Canadian economists to go around this would be no problem, but there are not. Indeed, there are few academic economists who do not at one time or another work for some government department or commission, and to that extent have their energies and abilities pulled away from fundamental analysis.

The rate of growth of the government sector has been so rapid that there is serious concern (not least on the part of some government economists) at the effect it is having on the rate of theoretical advance. It seems at times as if the problem of Canadian economics was a problem of survival of creative thinking in face of governmental demands. Twenty years ago, at the beginning of the Keynesian revolution, the universities had a clear lead over the government economists in theoretical acumen, as anyone can confirm by comparing the theoretical work by academic economists in the journals with the economic thinking appearing in the budgets and official pronouncements. But the

very success of the economists in converting the politicians to a high view of their ability (and also to Keynesian policy) contributed to the extension of the welfare state and the managed economy, and hence to the demand for more economists in government employ. In the decade since the war more theoretical work has probably been done by government economists than in the universities, with all the limitations on fundamental thinking that that implies.

There are signs, however, that the academic economists are beginning again to play their appropriate part, and that a post-war generation of younger economists is now emerging to make good the wartime depletion of the ranks of university theoretical economists. If the number of economists now increases fast enough to meet the demands of both government and universities, it may be that the penetration of economists into the government service will become an advantage to economics. For it will facilitate a fruitful movement (already perceptible) of economists, and of ideas, in both directions between the government and university sectors or, and this is not quite the same thing, between applied and fundamental economics.

### *Political Science*

Political science has taken shape more slowly than economics. Although it emerged in Canada as a university subject distinct from moral philosophy and political economy some seventy years ago (soon after economics), few significant Canadian works appeared until the 1930's, and it is only in the last decade that a substantial amount of Canadian writing has been produced. This is at first sight rather surprising. One would have expected that the peculiarities of the Canadian system of government would have attracted scholarly attention, and so produced a Canadian political science, somewhat earlier. They did in fact attract scholarly attention earlier, but it was the historians and constitutional lawyers who first took up the task of elucidating the Canadian political system. The obviously distinctive Cana-

dian institutions—federalism, the federal cabinet system, and dominion status—were, as we have already noticed, natural focal points for the historian. They were equally natural subjects for the constitutional lawyer, since they comprise a large part of the distinctive Canadian contribution to constitutional law and so required some rethinking and extension of the traditional constitutional theories.

The methods of the historian and the lawyer were well able to provide the primary analysis of these Canadian phenomena, considered as constitutional innovations and developments. There was little call for any different treatment of them, at least until this initial work had been pretty thoroughly done. But the more adequately it was done, the more apparent it became that the legal and historical approaches were not sufficient to yield a full understanding of the political system. Constitutional studies could not reveal the full process of government. The political habits of the people, the operation of parties, the prerequisites of political power, the ways in which policy may be determined, the nature of the civil service and its relation to the cabinet, the power relation between cabinet and parliament, the effectiveness of the whole system in relation to democratic purposes, the democratic quality of various political devices: all these, which are the stuff of political science, lie outside the constitution. Historians, of course, could and did deal with many of these matters, but as historians they did not provide that systematic analysis of the functioning body politic and its component parts which is the task of political science.

To this task the first generation of Canadian political scientists addressed themselves. The first results appeared in monographs by R. MacG. Dawson (b. 1895), professor of political science at the University of Saskatchewan and later at the University of Toronto, on *The Principle of Official Independence* (1922) and *The Civil Service of Canada* (1929), and by R. A. MacKay (b. 1894), professor at Dalhousie University and subsequently a high official in the federal Department of External Affairs, on



*The Unreformed Senate of Canada* (1926). One notable work in general political theory was also produced at this time: *The Modern State* (1926) by R. M. MacIver (b. 1882), then professor at the University of Toronto and subsequently at Columbia University. This work stands rather apart from the main paths of Canadian political science and should probably not be counted as part of it, for its author came to Canada as a product of Edinburgh and Oxford, and it draws little on Canadian experience. Yet it had some influence in keeping alive a theoretical approach to politics which in Canada has always been in some danger of being swamped by the emphasis on institutional studies. Its influence is evident in the work of Alexander Brady (b. 1896), MacIver's successor in political science at Toronto, whose *Canada* (1932) was, in effect, an early application of MacIver's pluralistic general theory to the Canadian scene as a whole—economic, cultural, and social as well as political.

For the next decade or more, the handful of academic political scientists struggled with detailed investigation of different aspects of Canadian government. The results were embodied mainly in journal articles, many of them in the newly established *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* (which since its foundation in 1935 has been of inestimable value in bringing on work in both fields). Further substance was given in this period to the pattern of Canadian politics in two documentary studies by Dawson, *Constitutional Issues in Canada* (1933), a work much broader than its title suggests, and *The Development of Dominion Status, 1900-1936* (1937); but there were few monographs, a notable one being *The Royal Power of Dissolution of Parliament in the British Commonwealth* (1943) by Eugene Forsey (b. 1904) then of McGill University.

It was not until after this decade of intensive though scattered particular studies that the first comprehensive analyses of Canadian government were attempted. *Canadian Government and Politics* (1944) by H. McD. Clokie (b. 1900), then professor at the University of Manitoba, was followed by Dawson's *The*

*Government of Canada* (1947). Both are systematic descriptions of the functioning system, with some lively criticism of various parts of the machinery. It was apparent to both authors that much remained to be done by way of those specialized studies without which any comprehensive analysis is bound to be uneven.

The ground was least well prepared in the field of political parties and the representative process. The limiting effect of this is evident. The process of government as a whole includes not only the ways in which governments make decisions and exercise their powers, but also the ways in which they get and keep their power; not only how they govern but also how they are authorized. The representative process, by which the people, as electors and as members of interest groups and parties, seek to have their wills represented in and to the bodies they authorize as their government is clearly of first importance in considering the democratic quality of any system of government. Yet intensive study of the party system, the electoral process, and the formation of public opinion and political pressures usually has to wait until the machinery of the government itself has been as fully elucidated as it can be with only an impressionistic view of the motivating force. The usual pattern of development of political science in any country, once it becomes impatient of the philosophical approach, is to turn first to study the flow of power *from* government and only later to consider the flow of power *to* government. Yet only in the measure that attention is given to the latter can the analysis be broadened to consider the democratic quality of the system.

Despite the shortcomings in specialized Canadian work in the representative process, two of the leading political scientists, more theoretically inclined than the institutionalists, produced at this time influential works distinguished by their concern for the democratic quality of the system. J. A. Corry (b. 1899), professor at Queen's University, in his *Democratic Government and Politics* (1946, revised 1951), combines a comparative study

of the structure and working of government in Canada, Britain, and the United States with theoretical analysis of the purposes and problems of modern democracy. He is particularly concerned with the relation of democratic belief to democratic practice—with the ability of any of the forms of democratic government to meet the compound requirements set for them by the liberal-democratic creed, which demands at once that government power be restrained in the interest of individual liberty and that government should elicit and obey the positive will of the people. Professor Brady's *Democracy in the Dominions: A Comparative Study in Institutions* (1947, revised 1952) is concerned with the transformation of British institutions when transplanted to the new environments of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Although he is dealing with institutions, he is concerned throughout to assess their value in the light of the ideas and purposes ascribed to those who formed and who operate them; his theme is essentially the vitality of liberal-democratic forces and their ability to adjust to new and varied demands.

The publication of these general and comparative studies in the mid-1940's may be said to have marked a clear stage of achievement. A functional pattern of the Canadian political system was now drawn; an intelligible anatomy and physiology of the system were presented. Much detail, of course, remained to be filled in, with the possibility that some changes might be needed in the pattern so far discerned. Work on various special aspects has been going ahead steadily since then. A series of volumes on the process and structure of government in each of the provinces has been launched, several volumes have appeared on parties and political movements especially in western Canada, substantial work has been published on the representative character of the House of Commons and on Canadian municipal government.

Political scientists are also showing a new interest in contemporary political biography, which, as a source of insight into

the formation and use of political power, is a valuable (and has hitherto been rather a scarce) complement to purely institutional analysis. Professor Dawson, appointed official biographer of the late Prime Minister Mackenzie King, has been labouring for several years among the official papers and is shortly to produce a comprehensive treatment. Two younger Canadian political scientists, H. S. Ferns (b. 1913), now teaching in England at the University of Birmingham, and Bernard Ostry (b. 1927), have recently published a penetrating first volume of a biography entitled *The Age of Mackenzie King* (1955).

The prospects of political science appear to be steadily improving in Canada as the subject attracts more adherents and becomes more widely established in the universities. Whether it will follow a path at all similar to that of Canadian economics is more doubtful. In both, as we have seen, the main work has been devoted to describing and analysing institutions, with emphasis on their peculiarly Canadian characteristics. But whereas in economics this work has been done with some view to testing the applicability and validity of a received general theory and to suggesting revisions of it which might be of value to the advance of theory beyond as well as within Canada, in political science this has scarcely been so. The institutional political scientists have had little thought for a general theory of the political process. They have used the received rationale of, for instance, the party system and the cabinet system as a theoretical framework for their Canadian material, without much disposition to ask whether their observation requires or suggests any modification of the received theory. The more theoretically inclined writers have tended to ask whether the present machinery of democratic government is capable of meeting the increasing demands made on it in the age of the welfare state, rather than whether the received theory of the political process is an adequate statement of what the modern democratic state does do.

The difference between economics and political science in

this respect may perhaps be explained by the different nature or stage of development of the two disciplines. Economics, by delimiting its subject matter in the first place to the relations of the market and by making precise assumptions, has built up a fairly exact body of principles. Political science, having a more amorphous subject matter, has never been able to attain this degree of precision. There is nothing in modern political science matching in exactitude the general equilibrium theory of economics or any of the special branches of economic theory. What goes as a general theory of politics has some resemblance to the equilibrium theory of economics, but because it is not so rigorous it does not as a matter of course invite or demand the same sort of revision when new phenomena appear.

The widespread effort now evident among American political scientists to develop a more rigorous empirical theory of the political process has not found much support in Canada, which in this respect finds itself closer to the British tradition. But quantitative empirical work is not the only method by which political science may now be advanced; new theoretical insight is at least as much needed. It is not clear what directions Canadian political science will take, but there are indications that, having mastered its necessary first task of charting the Canadian political system, it may take an increasing part in contributing to the general advance of political science.

### *Sociology and Anthropology*

Sociology and anthropology are the least extensively developed of the Canadian social sciences. Anthropology is established in only a few of the universities and only slightly in the government service. Sociology had, until a few years ago, an equally confined academic base, and, while it is now expanding markedly, the expansion in numbers is too recent to have yielded a proportional increase in the amount of published work.

Both subjects have developed almost entirely in relation to Canadian material and problems. Anthropologists have been

largely concerned with the culture of the Canadian Indians and with problems of their survival and assimilation. Extensive field work done in the 1920's and 30's by anthropologists attached to the National Museum produced a series of monographs on various tribes and studies of Indian languages and mythologies. The pioneer Canadian ethnological work in this field was done by Diamond Jenness (b. 1886), whose comprehensive *The Indians of Canada* was published in 1932, and by Charles Marius Barbeau (b. 1883), who in addition to his Indian studies has made a remarkably full exploration and permanent record of French-Canadian folk literature, arts, and industries. A recent landmark in Canadian anthropology is the definitive study *The Bella Coola Indians* (2 vols., 1948) by T. F. McIlwraith (b. 1899), professor at the University of Toronto, in which the culture of a disappearing British Columbia tribe is intensively analysed. Anthropologists have also extended their techniques to consider the problems of nonprimitive ethnic groups, as in *The Doukhobors of British Columbia* (1955) by H. B. Hawthorne (b. 1910), professor at the University of British Columbia.

The sociologists have concerned themselves with manifold aspects of the changing Canadian community. As massive immigration and the rapid opening up of the West are both twentieth-century phenomena in Canada, problems of assimilation and of the adjustment of social institutions to new environments have naturally attracted much attention. Ethnic groups, pioneer communities, and the development of social institutions in relation to successive advances of settlement and changes of economic organization have been the main themes of Canadian sociology.

The first substantial work was produced in the 1930's under the energetic leadership of C. A. Dawson (b. 1887), professor at McGill University, which for many years was the leading centre of sociological studies in Canada. This research spanned ethnic groups and western settlement, yielding in rapid succession *The Settlement of the Peace River Country* (1934) by

Dawson and R. W. Murchie, *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada* (1936) by Dawson, and *Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces: The Social Side of the Settlement Process* (1940) by Dawson and Eva R. Younge. The Canadian prairies offered a remarkable opportunity to study the process of adjustment and assimilation of ethnic groups, both because there had been substantial *bloc* settlement by various ethnic and religious communities and because the process of assimilation appeared to be sufficiently rapid that the main phases of it could come within the observation of researchers working over a fairly brief period. The same may be said of the western settlement process generally: all stages, from the pioneer community to the fully developed urban and rural communities of the most settled regions, could be studied contemporaneously in different parts of the Canadian West.

While the work directed by Dawson was carried on by extensive field work and group research, a more historical approach has been developed by S. D. Clark (b. 1910), professor at the University of Toronto, whose *The Social Development of Canada: An Introductory Study with Select Documents* (1942) opened up a broad field of sociological analysis. The theme is the development of social institutions in relation to the emergence of the various new forms of economic enterprise which have successively dominated the growth of Canadian society, from the days of New France to the present century. It is essentially a study of the recurrent disorganization and reorganization of social institutions—familial, religious, educational, and cultural. The pattern that emerges in each period is one of established institutions failing in specific ways to meet the demands made upon them by the opening up of new types and areas of economic activity, leading to a period of intense social disturbance gradually decreasing as the economy becomes more mature, and finally to an equilibrium arising from the reciprocal adjustment of social institutions and the economy.

Of all the institutions which underwent this process re-

peatedly, the church was one of the most important. In a subsequent volume, *Church and Sect in Canada* (1948), Professor Clark followed up his initial insight with a more thorough study of the social significance of a long succession of movements of religious organization. His work demonstrates that a combination of historical perspective with sociological analysis can give substantial returns in depth of theoretical interpretation.

Other sociologists are working on a wide range of subjects. Notable work on the sociological structure of the medical profession has been done by Oswald Hall (b. 1908), professor formerly at McGill University and now at the University of Toronto. The work of the younger sociologists includes studies of the structure of the army and the legal profession, urban ethnic minorities, social stratification, contemporary puritanism, juvenile delinquency, drinking patterns in industrial society, and so on. The maturing of Canadian sociology is suggested by two recent volumes by younger Toronto sociologists: Jean Burnet's *Next-Year Country: A Study of Rural Social Organization in Alberta* (1951), and W. E. Mann's *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta* (1955).

Amid all this varied work, the sociology of French Canada stands out as a special literature. The institutions of French Canada have provided an absorbing field of study, attracting both English-speaking and French-speaking sociologists. Their main concern has been with the effects of twentieth-century urbanization and industrialization on the traditional culture. Great impetus was given by the work of Everett C. Hughes (b. 1897), the Chicago sociologist, who was for some years professor at McGill University. His *French Canada in Transition* (1943), an intensive study of social relationships in "Cantonville," an industrialized urban community in the province of Quebec, revealed sharply the contrast and conflict between the ways of life of the French-Canadian and English-Canadian inhabitants. By showing the impact of Quebec's twentieth-century industrial revolution, controlled by English-speaking



management and capital, on the habits, beliefs, and community life of a French-speaking working force recruited from the tradition-bound rural community, he raised in a new form the many-sided problem of the possibility of survival of a French-Canadian culture.

The questions implicit in Professor Hughes's work have been followed up by a younger generation of French-Canadian sociologists, who are working toward a more comprehensive analysis of the changing French-Canadian community. The transformation of the parish and of the family as social institutions, the changing structure of social classes, the organization of the labour movement, and all the varied forms of adjustment and resistance to industrialization and Americanization are of compelling and insistent concern to them. They are not neutral analysts, content to contribute to an understanding of social changes benevolently watched and largely acceptable. On the contrary, they use their science to try to discover and expose the social forces that are disintegrating a culture which they deeply cherish.

The temper and directions of French-Canadian sociology are admirably shown in a recent symposium (and particularly in the chapters contributed by the editor): *Essais sur le Québec contemporain* (1953) edited by Jean-C. Falardeau (b. 1914), professor at Laval University and the most active and penetrating of present-day French-Canadian sociologists. The intensity of their concern for French-Canadian culture has focussed their attention mainly on their own community. But they are concerned less about the survival of French-Canadian values than about the survival of human values in French Canada. They are not ethnocentric; on the contrary, what makes their work so important and revealing is that they have broken through the closed circle of "nationalism" within which almost all French-Canadian social thinking had been confined until recently. They have seen, and are now concerned to demonstrate, that preoccupation with the maintenance of traditional French-Canadian values and institutions is likely now to be fatal to human values

in a French Canada becoming so completely industrialized; and it is for the terms of survival of human values that they are now searching. This new attitude is strongly in evidence in a recent volume by a group of writers headed by Pierre-E. Trudeau, *La Grève de l'amiante* (1956), where the implications of the 1949 strike in the Quebec asbestos industry are analysed as a turning-point in the ideological, social, and political life of French Canada. Thus it can no longer be said that there are two sociologies, as there are two histories, in Canada. The sociologists of both languages are working with the same concepts and using the same techniques of analysis, derived in large measure from American sociology. And since the French-Canadian sociologists have broken away from obsessive interest in cultural uniqueness, the lines of convergence between French- and English-Canadian sociology are plain.

Canadian sociology is still too young to enable us to speak with any assurance about its lines of growth. It is subject to the characteristic centrifugal tendencies of sociology elsewhere; the temptation to apply sociological method and concepts to a very miscellaneous variety of social phenomena and problems seems irresistible. But a central focus may be found in the problems of the growth of the Canadian community, and from this an increasingly adequate level of theoretical statement may be expected to develop.

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## Literary Scholarship

THE student of literature is, by the very nature of his vocation, free of many worlds. While he attends to the substance of the texts before him, he enters into the various intellectual backgrounds of his subjects: if he interests himself in Cicero, he must know Roman politics and Graeco-Roman ethical speculation; if in Browne, he must enter the by-ways of pre-Newtonian science; if in Goethe, he must simply take all knowledge as his province. At the same time, the complementary study of the language and the genres employed by his authors will lead him to contemplate literature as the expression of national feeling (the "genius" of a nation or region) or, perhaps, the literary craft as a thing in itself, like ceramics or farming. His learning is, in fact, both regional and cosmopolitan. On this basis, the Canadian literary scholar should be placed, historically and geographically, just right, for he lives between the Atlantic community of Western scholars, who are at home in any common room from Padua to British Columbia, and the small but intense environment of the Canadian campus, centre of a strong nationalistic feeling, of the desire to create something "distinctively Canadian."

But this productive "double life" of the scholar poses a whole series of practical problems for one who attempts, as I do here,

to survey briefly the accomplishment of literary scholars in this particular environment. One must give an appropriate emphasis to Canadian criticism of Canadian literature, while recognizing that the most influential and impressive productions of literary scholars in Canada have been interpretations of the literature of the ancient and European worlds. Our political leaders boast that Canada's function in twentieth-century diplomacy is to serve as interpreter between the European and American communities, but the fact is that no Canadian scholar or critic has yet produced a major study of any United States author. The current, whether of men or ideas, runs mostly the other way. The central fact of Canadian cultural life, viewed once with satisfaction and lately with alarm, is the constant emigration of Canadian men and women of talent to the United States. The old imperial tradition, which "colonized" the greater Canadian universities from Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh and Dublin, and laid the foundations for higher education and scholarship in this country, has been transformed into a wholesome exchange of talent and opinion. But the intimate association of Canadian scholars with their fellows in the United States, through the Modern Language Association, in the great research libraries, in the forum of the learned journals, and in other less formal but equally productive relationships, while it has gained for many Canadian scholars a large following and influence in the world of American scholarship, has inevitably drawn Canadian scholarship firmly into the larger orbit of American scholarly activity and perhaps reduced the sympathetic detachment with which a Canadian investigator should be able to contemplate such peculiarly American phenomena as William Faulkner or Theodore Dreiser.

Yet if the Canadian academic community has still much to accomplish before its productions may be judged to display a distinctive kind of scholarship, the pursuit of learning in Canada has followed a course which may be roughly charted and which has resulted in emphasis upon certain types of scholarly activity to the neglect of others. Literary scholarship in Canada, what-

ever its subject-matter, has shared with the other humanist disciplines a close dependence upon the development of higher education, and this development has depended upon the ability of Canadian universities to take their place in the international community of learning. This process has been slow and, for reasons better explored elsewhere, perhaps slower than it should have been, but certain elements in it have fostered scholarship. The honours course system, developed at Toronto, first in classics by Maurice Hutton under the influence of Oxford "Greats," and existing in one form or another in most Canadian universities, with its insistence upon the complementary function of specialization in one field and study in related disciplines and its emphasis upon the close study of texts, has had a considerable influence, difficult to measure but pervasive, upon both the prestige of higher learning and the mastery of those techniques which make higher learning possible. The emergence and growth of graduate schools offering advanced degrees in any appreciable number of the accepted courses of humanist study have been slow, hampered by inadequate resources both of staff and research materials. But where, as at the University of Toronto, these facilities are reasonably adequate, or where, as at McGill or Queen's, the authorities guard standards by granting advanced degrees only in those fields where work may be done profitably, the foundation at least of a sound tradition of post-graduate study in the humanities has been laid. Now these two factors, the demands made upon university teaching-scholars by the honours courses and the severe limitations of locally available source materials in the field of world literature, have had the effect of turning Canadian scholars to the production of interpretative and comprehensive studies rather than to those elaborate works of bibliographical and annotative scholarship which are the most distinctive monuments of some European and American graduate schools.

Dr. Pelham Edgar (1871-1948) of Victoria College, Toronto,

who had, besides his own capacity as literary critic, an especially sharp eye for talent in others and the benevolence to encourage it (he may be said to have "discovered" Canada's chief poet, E. J. Pratt, and our most distinguished critic, Northrop Frye), remarked once to Wilson Knight, then of Trinity College, Toronto, that he must miss the English libraries. Knight replied that he needed only the text of Shakespeare. Admittedly Professor Knight, who is the impressionistic commentator par excellence, is an extreme case, but in a lesser degree freedom from fear of the academic industry has been characteristic of the best Canadian scholars. They, like the best scholars anywhere, have assimilated the most significant literature on their subjects and gone on to create their own syntheses of letters and experience.

But the case of Wilson Knight reminds us of another aspect of this crossroads situation of the Canadian scholar and raises for the historian of Canadian letters a very touchy question. Of those scholars who, trained and matured elsewhere, have completed their productive careers in Canadian universities (Gilbert Norwood, Barker Fairley), or those who sojourned here more or less briefly (Herbert Davis, T. R. Glover, F. C. Green, G. B. Harrison), or those who laid the foundations of their academic careers here and moved elsewhere (Hugh Kenner, Douglas Bush), whom shall we claim as "Canadian"? Recognizing the artificiality of the whole situation, we may still confidently claim the first class and apply (with a large margin for error) the simple category of "work done here" to the other two. Mr. Kenner, who has a large following as a critic of contemporary letters, is an instructive example. His whole output, from his *Paradox in Chesterton* (1947) to his latest work on Joyce, is deeply indebted to the direction and inspiration of H. M. McLuhan of Toronto, but his contribution to current critical theory and practice is no negligible part of American academic history. On the other hand, Douglas Grant, the present editor of the *University of Toronto Quarterly*, whose scholarly production since



his arrival in Canada in 1949 has been considerable, is deeply involved, by training and continuing associations, with the English academic and publishing worlds.

Canadian literary scholarship, then, is anything but parochial. If a strain of sentimental chauvinism has crept in anywhere, it is in the area of Canadian literary history. There has been in the past some overvaluing of Canadian things because they were Canadian, to the detriment of sound literary judgement; the "Makers of Canadian Literature" series is not altogether free of this attitude. Yet no one interested in Anglo-Canadian letters can fail to pay tribute to the faithful labours and constant encouragement of Dr. Lorne Pierce of the Ryerson Press or to see how such a basic work in the older tradition as James Cappon's *Bliss Carman* sets its subject firmly, with admirable detachment, in the whole North American context, geographical and literary. The most enlightened and influential of contemporary historians and critics of Canadian letters, W. E. Collin (b. 1893) in *The White Savannas*, E. K. Brown (1905-1951) in *On Canadian Poetry*, A. J. M. Smith (b. 1902) in his introduction to *The Book of Canadian Poetry*, Desmond Pacey (b. 1917) in *Creative Writing in Canada*, to say nothing of the annual reviewers in the *University of Toronto Quarterly's* "Letters in Canada," have effectively explored the significance of Canadian literary history in relation both to the cosmopolitan "revolt of the twenties" and to the earlier native (and Victorian) nature romanticism and showed the way to a just historical and critical estimate of Canadian letters. Serious bibliographical gaps are on the way to being filled by R. E. Watters' forthcoming check-list of Canadian publications to 1950, an enterprise sponsored by the Humanities Research Council.

The range of interests and quality of thought among Canadian classical scholars may be studied in *The Phoenix*, the journal of the Classical Association of Canada, but perhaps the most typical assembly of these talents is to be found in *Studies in*

*Honour of Gilbert Norwood*, though this volume of course contains a number of studies by non-Canadians. It is an appropriate place to find these writers, for the achievement and influence of Gilbert Norwood (1880-1954) are of a wide-ranging and lasting kind. It has been noted that the "sardonic piquancy" which he found characteristic of Euripides was much in evidence in his own writings, which are distinguished alike by urbanity and a searching accuracy. It is possible that specialists find his most exciting work in his posthumously published *Essays in Euripidean Drama*, where he was engaged in the perennial disagreements over Euripides' attitudes toward religion and society, but in the opinion of many his most characteristic work is his *Pindar*, a study in which exact scholarship and fine critical insight are focussed on the test of the individual poem, in a way which many of the "New Critics" might envy. He seeks for the "meaning" of a Pindaric ode in its symbolic centre, and supports this way of reading by an unqualified assertion of the autonomy of poetry. This emphasis on literature in the stricter meaning of the term is the leading motif in the criticism of E. T. Owen (1887-1948), whose *The Story of the Iliad as Told in the Iliad* is not concerned at all with the "Homeric question" or with the *Iliad* as a social and historical document, but with the conscious art which makes the poem the ultimate exemplar of verse narrative. Lucid exposition of text, supported by unusually thorough knowledge of Athenian dramatic technique, is also the basis of G. M. A. Grube's (b. 1899) *The Drama of Euripides*, in which close analysis of the action of the plays is preceded by an elaborate survey of the devices of Euripidean drama; both parts of the study are illuminated by a deliberate attempt to see the plays in their historical context.

But if there is a tradition of this kind of concentration upon texts, arising in part from the honours and tutorial system in which these scholars have worked and probably owing more than a little to Norwood's example, there is another aspect of

classical studies in this country which may be traced to the pre-occupations of Maurice Hutton and W. S. Milner of University College, Toronto, whose influence upon the development of classical studies at Toronto was profound, and who taught Charles N. Cochrane (1889-1945), author of *Christianity and Classical Culture*, which H. A. Innis called "the first major Canadian contribution to the intellectual history of the West." Here the emphasis is upon the history and power of ideas; in Cochrane's choice of subject ("heroic" in the Miltonic sense) and in his understanding of the tension between classical and Christian thought, one may see classical studies expanding into their other great function of serving as a viaticum for the creation of a *Weltanschauung*. Cochrane showed how classical naturalism, which he found best exemplified in Thucydides, was both completed and superseded by St. Augustine's philosophy of history. An astute Canadian historian has confessed to the present writer that Cochrane's great book is his breviary, a classicist and class-mate of Cochrane deplored its conclusions. The large synthesis is always a theatre of controversy; this has been demonstrated in the reception accorded N. W. DeWitt's (b. 1876) two works on Epicurus, in which the author's thesis is, first, that the teaching of Epicurus formed "a bridge of transition from the classical philosophies of Greece to the Christian religion" and, more specifically, that the epistles of St. Paul are based upon the Epicurean ethic. Both philosophers and theologians are troubled by these provocative conclusions.

Other achievements and areas of inquiry in classical studies must also be noticed. The conclusions, often surprising to the amateur of culture, reached by that kind of investigation in which the linguist-archaeologist reconstructs a whole civilization out of buried and defaced monuments, are set out in Carleton Stanley's (b. 1886) *Roots of the Tree*, and the process of inquiry illustrated in the cataloguing and deciphering labours of F. M. Heichelheim (b. 1901) in the rich harvests of papyri. The classical scholar's obligation to interpret the political and social

processes of the ancient world to the aspirations of the present is fulfilled in such works as Edward T. Salmon's (b. 1905) *A History of the Roman World*. Some other aspects of classical study receive much less than the notice they deserve. Certain detailed studies in Roman literature and politics are noted in the bibliography; among these the series of papers by W. H. Alexander (b. 1878), an emigrant to California, on Horace and Seneca, call for special mention, as does the unusual contribution of Skuli Johnson (1888-1955), who combined with his native command of the heroic world of Icelandic saga a strong affinity for the Horatian mode and environment—a unique synthesis of interests and influence. This reminder that Latin culture is not confined to archaic Italy is reinforced by such works as the translation of Abelard's *Historia calamitatum* by Joseph T. Muckle (b. 1887) of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies at Toronto.

Those two traditions, the "literary" and the historical-philosophical, which I have (perhaps arbitrarily) attached to influential productions in the field of classical studies, may serve as a starting point at least for a survey of English studies in Canadian scholarship. The usual distinction, based on the university curriculum, between English language and English literature is not very fruitful here, for the Canadian academic scene is not and never has been rich in philologists. When one has mentioned the controversial speculations of R. A. Wilson (1874-1949), the translations and interpretations of R. K. Gordon (b. 1887), the work of Thorleif Larsen (b. 1887)—better known as a specialist in the work of George Peele—on pronunciation, Henry Alexander's (b. 1890) co-operative studies for the North American linguistic atlas with his basic (and readable) textbook *The Story of Our Language*, the investigations into mediaeval documents, leading to a theory of the composition and date of the Chester plays, of F. M. Salter (b. 1895), and the linguistic and cultural inquiries of C. W.

Dunn (b. 1915), now of New York University, one has taken note at least of the major Canadian contributions in this field. Those talents for precise documentation, and for the patient working out of a definitive text which are often exercised in linguistic and purely literary studies, have here been turned, and we think triumphantly, to the manifold problems of editing important texts. F. E. L. Priestley (b. 1905) prepared the definitive edition of Godwin's *Political Justice*, which paved the way, quite accidentally, for a concentration upon eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century materials, being now in company with Douglas Grant's (b. 1921) selective editions of Dryden and Sterne and his recent Oxford edition of Charles Churchill and with Kathleen Coburn's (b. 1905) immense project, now in hand, of editing Coleridge's unpublished notebooks and other manuscript materials, of which a large and important collection is now at the Victoria College Library in Toronto. Miss Coburn has, as all scholars in this field know, prepared herself and her readers for this enterprise by a number of other labours in the field, her edition of *The Letters of Sara Hutchinson*, for example, or her earlier anthology of Coleridgean opinion published under the title *Inquiring Spirit*. One of her assistants in Coleridge research has been George Whalley (b. 1915), who, in addition to a highly Coleridgean work of speculative aesthetics, *Poetic Process*, has contributed to the background his *Coleridge and Sara Hutchinson and the Asra Poems*. Research in the Romantics does not end with Coleridge: *Keats: A Bibliography and Reference Guide*, by J. R. MacGillivray (b. 1902), is now an indispensable tool of investigation, and the author is engaged on a study of Wordsworth, to which Kenneth MacLean has supplied some essential background in his *Agrarian Age*.

Another tradition of English studies, centred primarily though by no means exclusively in the history of ideas, has grown up at Toronto and exerted considerable influence in Canadian universities generally. The giants of the first generation of scholars in English were primarily great teachers: such was W. J.

Alexander (1855-1944) of University College, Toronto; such was Archibald MacMechan (1862-1933) of Dalhousie. Alexander's influence is probably the most important single factor in the development of English studies in Canada. The bulk of his publication is small by current standards (his most important work is his *An Introduction to the Poetry of Robert Browning*), but the principles set out in his lectures and in what he wrote have become part of the basic assumptions of the scholars upon whom he exercised a direct influence. It is one mark of a great teacher that he inspires rather than controls: Alexander's powers lay in the luminous exposition of literary works, informed by an exact critical intelligence. His colleague and successor Malcolm Wallace (b. 1873) gave to the study of literature a more strongly ethical and political colouring, which is of course evinced in his *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney* and informs his Alexander Lectures, *English Character and the English Literary Tradition*. The achievement of A. S. P. Woodhouse (b. 1895) may be set against this background, which has helped to shape his own theory of literature, in which the formal structure, the inner relations of a work of art, are related to and harmonized with the pattern and substance of the author's ideas, and those ideas in turn are illuminated by setting them in their historical context. *Puritanism and Liberty* is the definitive edition of the Clarke papers with ancillary documents, and the introduction sets out what has been for some time accepted as the classic account of the Puritan ethos in its political aspect. His *Milton the Poet*, the first Sedgewick memorial lecture on a foundation which does honour to the influential teacher and humanist G. G. Sedgewick of British Columbia, with other frequently cited articles on Milton published in the *University of Toronto Quarterly* and elsewhere, adumbrate the themes and method of a larger work on Milton. He has contributed also to the history of literary criticism and to studies in the development and programs for the advancement of humanist studies in this country.

Milton studies in particular, and Renaissance studies in general,

have flourished in the area of Woodhouse's interests and direction. Of these the best known is that by Arthur Barker (b. 1911), *Milton and the Puritan Dilemma*, which follows and analyses the development of Milton's thought in relation to the Puritan ideal of the "holy community" and the manifold transformations of that ideal in the crucible of political controversy. Watson Kirkconnell (b. 1895), whose extraordinary linguistic accomplishments make him unique among Canadian scholars, has contributed to Milton studies a massive collection of the major analogues to the *Paradise Lost* theme, *The Celestial Cycle*. One illustration of our dictum that a good teacher inspires but does not control may be found in the work of Malcolm M. Ross (b. 1911), who, as he has said, "first met Milton" in Woodhouse's lecture room, but whose approach to English literature of the seventeenth century owes little to Woodhouse beyond a similar preoccupation with underlying thought patterns. His *Milton's Royalism* was a search for conflict between symbol and idea in Milton's creative activity, and in his *Poetry and Dogma* he finds in the seventeenth-century poets an "Anglican dilemma," created by the disorder caused by the Reformation in the "firmament" of traditional Catholic sacramental symbolism.

He who reads at random in serious Canadian journals over the past two decades will discover more than one plea for a "Canadian criticism"—whatever that may be. It is true that Canadian culture has not produced any distinguished dilettantes; the best critical writing so far produced has been serious, scholarly—academic if you will. Those who believe that such critics are necessarily inflexible in their interests and methods would do well to study the various productions of E. K. Brown, whose criticism of Canadian poetry has already been mentioned. The acute and sympathetic analysis of E. M. Forster's vision of life in *Rhythm in the Novel*, or the posthumously published study of Willa Cather (completed by Leon Edel), are monuments to the breadth of his interests and the sureness of his critical judgement. Northrop Frye (b. 1912) has, with C. T. Bissell, made

of the annual "Letters in Canada" survey something a great deal more than a catalogue, and his various articles and reviews in such journals as *Hudson Review*, *University of Toronto Quarterly*, *Modern Philology*, and elsewhere have laid the groundwork for a "poetics" soon to be published. The centre of all that he has done, and his most important work so far, is his study of Blake, *Fearful Symmetry*, an extraordinary volume in which he not only expounds the Blakean vision from inside, as it were, but also propounds the theory that Blake's art may serve as "a beginner's guide" to the understanding of the "archetypal vision of which it forms part." Frye proposes nothing less than the possibility of a synthesis (a "study of anagogy"), in which mythic forms, dream symbolism, epistemological speculation, and historical process are gathered into a comprehensive world-view.

It is less easy to see a pattern of development or to postulate the emergence of a "school" in modern language study and scholarship in Canada. For one thing, the roots of many of these scholars go back directly to Europe, as we might expect; some of their work has been published there, and all of it, whether written in English or in a continental language, is addressed to a European as well as to a Canadian academic audience. The cultural gap between Anglo-Canadian scholarship and the learned tradition of "minority groups" is being bridged by schools of Slavic studies at Toronto, at Saskatchewan, and at British Columbia. The University of Manitoba has a chair in Icelandic. These factors in Canadian academic life are barely beginning to show their effect. The profound civilizing function of the teaching of European languages in the universities is of course impossible to characterize exactly. On the basis of scholarly productions in this area of humane studies, one might risk the suggestion that the most fruitful kinds of investigation are those which concentrate either upon a rounded picture of a single author or upon what one might call "cultural interrelations." Both these



types of study are characteristic of the European academic tradition. The reader will find some typical works listed in the bibliography; here I shall mention only three or four scholars of exceptionally wide influence.

It is an uncomfortable fact that many works of scholarship, no matter how erudite and finished, have still the tone of a "job" finally done. But this cannot be said of Barker Fairley's (b. 1887) books; they are the fruits of lively meditation, they have an organic unity, and are never wholly impersonal. His *A Study of Goethe*, which one may consider his most searching and stimulating production, is the result of a remarkable saturation in the "inner biography" of Goethe. The stages on Goethe's way become acts in the drama of the spirit, which begins in chameleon-like emotionalism and ends in harmonious objectivity. Apart entirely from its merits as a monument of Goethe scholarship, this book serves as a model for those who attempt to find in the life of the artist those subtle connections between the creative process and the daily life.

It is appropriate that A. F. B. Clark (b. 1884) should be given special notice in a survey of this kind. In a sharp polemic, published in 1930 in the *Canadian Forum*, a journal of opinion and the arts with which he has long been associated, he remarked that literary scholarship as a recognized and organized force simply did not exist in Canadian universities, referred to the Ph.D. in the terms in which one speaks of a disease, and went on to observe that the time was ripe for interpretative and synthetic scholarship. Much has been done since then, and his own various scholarly publications and occasional reviews have contributed not a little to the prestige of scholarship in modern languages. Perhaps his most typical contribution is his *Jean Racine*; here he aims at filling the need of a comprehensive critical and historical study in English of that dramatist who is "the very flower of the French genius." The organization of the work seems pedestrian enough (the age, the genre of classical tragedy, the life, the plays), but the clarity of the exposition and the assurance of

critical judgement give a total impression of a keen intelligence working confidently in a familiar field.

To the ordinary well-informed honours graduate, Goethe is perhaps more familiar than Racine, and Racine certainly better known than Cavalcanti. The mediaeval theorists of *amor* seem as remote from our ways of thought as contemporary writers on the libido may seem from cultivated men (if there are any) a thousand years hence, though such an important work of interpretation as that of A. J. Denomy (b. 1904), *The Heresy of Courtly Love*, helps, by way of the Western theological tradition, to bridge the gap. It is an essential part of the function of specialist scholarship to interpret what time has turned into gnomic utterance, to set it in its historical and philosophical context and so integrate it with our experience. This is what J. E. Shaw (b. 1876) has done with Cavalcanti's *Canzone d'amore* in *Guido Cavalcanti's Theory of Love*, a definitive elucidation of a most difficult poem. We may note here also the contribution of M. A. Buchanan (1878-1952), who did much valuable bibliographical work in modern language methodology and Spanish literary chronology.

The writer of this survey approaches the field of Semitic studies with a degree of trepidation only exceeded by ignorance. The most I can do is to indicate, however inadequately, the achievements of one school of Oriental studies, at Toronto, and note the importance of a few scholars.

In the realm of classical studies, literary study and archaeological research long ago entered into fruitful partnership, and the same is true of Semitic studies, in which J. F. McCurdy was a pioneer figure. His successor, W. R. Taylor (1882-1951), is chiefly known as the translator of the Psalms in the New American Revised Version of the Bible. W. S. McCullough has written a general introduction and exegesis of the Psalms for *The Interpreter's Bible*. Taylor presided over a department whose chief ornament was T. J. Meek (b. 1881), a widely recognized au-

thority on the Hebrew language and ancient Near Eastern law. Meek's *Hebrew Origins* is a major contribution to our understanding of the place of Hebrew religion and thought in the complex of comparative religion. This tradition is continued in the researches of F. V. Winnett (b. 1903), who, in *The Mosaic Tradition*, sets out to perform for the Hexateuch a service of integration not unlike that attempted by recent scholars in their studies of the Homeric texts; the tide of scholarship has set against the disintegrators. An interesting collaboration between schools of Near and Far Eastern studies is *Chinese Jews: A Compilation of Matters relating to the Jews of K'aifeng Fu*, by Bishop W. C. White (b. 1873), to whom is owing much of the excellence of the Chinese collection in the Royal Ontario Museum, and R. J. Williams.

Of the more explicitly theological and ethical aspect of Semitic studies this is not the place to speak; the *Canadian Journal of Theology*, which got off to a promising start last year, collects some of the best thought on those aspects of the Hebraic inheritance. But one other element in the cultural influence of biblical scholars must not be entirely passed over. The most notable of earlier Canadian educators were churchmen and theologians turned administrators; even yet, in the prevailing secularization of institutions of higher learning, their influence and that of their successors is deeply felt. Of this class of men we may select one from our own time, William C. Graham (1887-1955). Most of his published work issued from his professorship at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, but his later years were spent in teaching and administration in Winnipeg. He was, primarily, an interpreter of the Old Testament prophets; all the resources of precise linguistic analysis and of archaeological research were turned upon the explication and proclamation of the message of those seers who in his view liberated the Hebrew intelligence and laid the foundations for the most valuable elements in the legacy of Israel to civilization.

The achievement of a group of literary scholars cannot be evaluated like a curriculum or a program. Whether he works co-operatively or alone, the scholar rejects all programs; if he permits his labours to serve any other end but that of learning he is no more a scholar but a hireling. Consequently the names by which we define an era of scholarly production are the names of men. Twenty years from now, another survey of this kind will have a different perspective, will emphasize another group of writers, but will rest, like this one, upon the production of a few men.

Yet this much may be said by way of general conclusion. Canadian literary scholarship is singularly conservative in its methods and aims. Its chief monuments so far are securely anchored in the traditional disciplines of the arts course and may be defined in terms of emphasis upon belles-lettres, or literary history, or philosophy. In one sense this is an expression of faith in the processes of higher education as they minister to creative scholarship; if any move is made to break down the accepted pattern of humanistic training and to substitute for it some kind of streamlined "introduction to civilization," we may expect the first protests from the literary scholars. That day has not come yet, and everything of value which they themselves create postpones it.

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## Philosophy

THE colonization of Canada by the French, like that of the Atlantic American states by the English, began during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. But modern Canada is a by-product of the wars of the eighteenth century which culminated on this continent in the American Revolution. The Loyalists or Royalists, as they were variously called, who fled from that revolution into the Maritime Provinces and the wild lands north of the Great Lakes which were then inhabited only by Indian tribes, constituted the first large-scale colonization of Canada by people of British stock. During the nineteenth century the country expanded from sea to sea, achieving political union in 1867. But the earlier French-speaking population has never been assimilated racially, linguistically, or culturally by the numerically superior English. The fact that French-Canadian philosophy is discussed in the next chapter, rather than in this one, reflects the basic cultural disunity of the country. In justification of our procedure it may be pleaded that scholastic philosophy as it exists in Quebec has neither influenced, nor been influenced by, the development of modern philosophy elsewhere throughout the country. Philosophically, Canada is a land of "two solitudes."

In Canada, unlike Britain and the United States, philosophy

has flourished only in the universities. The universities of eastern and central Canada were established mainly between 1820 and 1850, but those west of the Great Lakes, with the exception of Manitoba, are not yet fifty years old. The rapid development of universities during the nineteenth century can be understood, in the widest sense, only as part of the greater movement of liberalism which arose toward the close of the eighteenth century and which permeated every phase of thought and life in the Western world during the next hundred years. In their eagerness for higher education, the Loyalists were not unmindful of the experience of the colonial centuries in the land they had left. But in Canada the rivalry, if not the open hostility, of the various Christian bodies played a dominant role in determining not only the structure of the new universities, but also, throughout the nineteenth century at least, the type of men who were appointed to professorships of philosophy. At Harvard, according to Benjamin Rand, the first official appointment specifically in philosophy was made as late as 1766, and the first professorship of philosophy dates only from 1810. The distinction of being the first professor of philosophy in Canada belongs to James Beaven. One hundred and seven years ago, in 1850, he was appointed professor of metaphysics and ethics in the newly reconstituted University of Toronto.

In the evolution of a Canadian philosophical consciousness five phases or stages may be distinguished. First, the Scottish philosophy of common sense as developed by Thomas Reid and Dugald Stewart, and as modified by Sir William Hamilton, was widely diffused during the period from 1850 to 1872. Second, objective idealism dominated the half-century from 1872 to 1922, chiefly through the labours of John Watson. Third, the realism of George Sidney Brett was the most influential new approach between the years 1910 and 1940. Fourth, a search for a "balanced philosophy," whether through the use of the comparative method as advocated by Rupert Clendon Lodge, or otherwise, has been the determining characteristic during the

past fifteen or twenty years. Fifth, in the future, it seems safe to predict that the principal emphases will be in the fields of intellectual history and of social philosophy.

The first two phases find a certain parallel in the changing place of philosophy in university instruction between 1840 and 1900. Theology was taught in the universities in the 1840's; but philosophy had to wait a decade or longer before it was officially recognized as a subject *sui generis*—the transition had been completed in the leading universities, however, by 1853. The pattern of development may be illustrated further by the life histories of the earliest philosophers. Such men as James Beaven (1801-1875), James George (1801-1870), William Turnbull Leach (1805-1886), or George Paxton Young (1818-1889), usually had distinguished careers as clergymen and then as professors of theology before becoming professors of philosophy. Men whose primary interest was theological remained in charge of philosophical instruction at the leading universities until the 1870's. It was these theological philosophers who introduced the philosophy of common sense, and their interpretation of this philosophy must have been strongly influenced by the demands of theology. The replacement of theologians by men whose primary interest was philosophical, though with the exception of Watson they were still clergymen, marked the transition from common sense to idealism. The distinction between the first and second periods cannot, of course, be emphasized too sharply. John Clark Murray (1836-1917), for example, although greatly influenced by idealism, remained a dynamic representative of certain doctrines of the Scottish philosophy into the early years of the present century. Watson was the first layman to receive an academic appointment in philosophy, but it was not generally recognized during the nineteenth century that a philosopher need not necessarily be a clergyman.

Murray was the leading Canadian representative of common sense. Educated at Edinburgh by Sir William Hamilton, and subsequently at Göttingen and Heidelberg, he introduced into

Canada the idea that the work of the Scottish school must be supplemented by ancient as well as by modern French and German philosophy. This broad approach entailed an emphasis on the history of philosophy and the study of representative classical systems. Murray's *Outline of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy*, published at Boston in 1870, is the first technical philosophical book written in Canada. James McCosh, in a laudatory introduction, stated that "Sir William Hamilton was the greatest metaphysician of his age, and his metaphysics will be studied by thinking minds in all coming ages." It was imperative, therefore, that Hamilton's philosophy should be presented in systematic form, and this difficult task, McCosh concluded, had been carried out admirably by Murray. No reference was made in this book to the devastating *Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy* which J. S. Mill had published five years previously. During the last quarter of the century Murray became a somewhat eclectic idealist, and his later introductory texts in ethics and psychology illustrate the intellectual conflict he experienced, in common with others of that period in the United States and Canada, as the Hamiltonian philosophy gave way before the advance of objective idealism.

The leading representatives of idealism in Canada have been George Paxton Young (who abandoned common-sense philosophy for Kant in the early 1860's and finally, after 1883, became a disciple of T. H. Green), John Watson (1847-1939), William Caldwell (1862-1942), George John Blewett (1873-1912), and Herbert Leslie Stewart (1882-1953). Of these, John Watson was unquestionably the most interesting as well as the most influential.

In his intellectual development Watson was profoundly influenced by Edward Caird, under whom he studied at Glasgow between 1866 and 1872. During these years Caird was expounding and examining the critical philosophy of Kant with the object of showing that this philosophy, if interpreted rationally and consistently, leads to the absolute idealism of Hegel. As the

new idealism developed, it gradually became apparent that a more liberal interpretation of Christianity than had hitherto existed was possible. Confronted with the advance of science, the theory of evolution, the new biblical criticism, and an aggressive enlightenment, Caird sought to show that absolute idealism preserved the essence of traditional religion while giving to it a more rational form.

In 1872, at the age of twenty-five, Watson came to Canada sealed with the seal of Edward Caird, to whom it gave no small satisfaction to know that idealism would have such a strong representative in the New World. The young idealist had barely arrived in this country when he charted his future course in an inaugural lecture at Queen's University, where he was to teach philosophy for the next fifty-two years. In this lecture entitled "The Relation of Philosophy to Science," Watson surveyed incisively and maturely the limits of philosophy, science, and religion. The presuppositions and weaknesses of T. H. Huxley's scientific materialism, Herbert Spencer's evolutionary naturalism, and J. S. Mill's empiricism were pointed out with devastating accuracy; and the claims of religion were vindicated by an appeal to the Kantian critical philosophy, to which were added the overtones of Caird's idealism.

With the exception of Josiah Royce, Watson was the most prolific writer of the idealistic movement on this continent. His books and articles enjoyed wide popularity because his teaching was organically related to the sociocultural environment of the age. The idealism of Caird and Watson had, as James Cappon once put it, "a well-defined public, whose needs and receptivities counted for something in the form which their teaching took." Both the grandeur and the sobriety of Watson's speculations were partly due to the need in Canada of adjusting philosophical thought to a watchful and inquiring public which was not confined to academic circles.

Watson's major writings fall into four main groups, according as they are concerned with (1) classical German philosophy;

(2) hedonism, positivism, and empiricism; (3) the philosophy of religion; (4) political philosophy. On German philosophy, Watson wrote such authoritative books as *Kant and His English Critics* (1881), *The Philosophy of Kant Explained* (1908), and *Schelling's Transcendental Idealism* (1882). In addition to these expository and critical works, he edited and translated *Selections from Kant*, a book which was revised and reprinted eleven times between 1882 and 1934. This project grew out of his realization that if students of philosophy were to pass from a lower to a higher plane of thought they must read the classical texts for themselves. He would set his more advanced students at work upon the text of Kant, watch them as they struggled with its perplexities, and give help only when it was needed. This method was adopted at Harvard and spread thence to many other American universities. Watson probably did more to promote the study of Kant on this continent than any other North American philosopher.

In 1891 Watson performed a similar service for the empirical school with the publication of *The Philosophy of John Stuart Mill*, another book of extracts. This was followed in 1895 by *Comte, Mill, and Spencer*, ostensibly a critical exposition of nineteenth-century positivism, empiricism, and evolutionism, but actually a constructive introduction to philosophy. In 1898 an elaborate addendum, *Notes, Historical and Critical, to Comte, Mill and Spencer*, appeared, and later that year the two volumes were fused and published under a new title, *Outline of Philosophy*. During the next twenty-five years this book ran through half a dozen editions and formed the basis of the introductory course in philosophy in most Canadian universities. Its wide acceptability in that period was guaranteed by Watson's statement of his position in the Preface: "The philosophical creed which commends itself to my mind is what in the text I have called Speculative Idealism, by which I mean the doctrine that we are capable of knowing Reality as it actually is, and that Reality when so known is absolutely rational." The criticism of

the empirical tradition in philosophy was supplemented in 1895 with *Hedonistic Theories from Aristippus to Spencer*, an uncompromising demonstration of the view that no hedonistic theory can plausibly explain morality without assuming ideas inconsistent with its asserted principles.

In the popular consciousness Watson is usually thought of as having provided more adequate philosophical foundations for Christian theology. The popular view is, on the whole, correct, but it should be emphasized that he preferred to regard Christianity as an ideal of conduct rather than as a historical theology. This approach was developed in a series of lectures given before the Philosophical Union of the University of California and published in 1896 as *Christianity and Idealism*. Here Watson argued that Christianity and idealism, when each is understood, lend each other support. Each proves the other true; each is seen to be but a different expression of the same indivisibly three-fold fact: God, freedom, and immortality. Idealism is the principle of morality and the principle of advancing history. Christianity is the germ of which idealism is the full growth. This conception was developed further in 1907 in *The Philosophical Basis of Religion*, a series of essays in the reconstruction and history of religious belief which had been delivered before the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. But Watson's mature philosophy of religion found fullest expression in the Gifford Lectures which he delivered in the University of Glasgow during the years 1910 to 1912 and which were published in two volumes as *The Interpretation of Religious Experience*. This work, the crowning achievement of his philosophical career, concludes with a passionate plea for a faith which has a rational basis—in idealism:

The religious interests of man can be preserved only by a theology which affirms that all forms of being are manifestations of a single spiritual principle in identification with which the true life of man consists. Living in this faith the future of the race is assured. Religion is the spirit which must more and more subdue all things to itself,

informing science and art, and realizing itself in the higher organization of the family, the civic community, the state, and ultimately the world, and gradually filling the mind and heart of every individual with the love of God and the enthusiasm of humanity.<sup>1</sup>

World War I drove Watson to a consideration of the problems of political philosophy which he, unlike most of the British idealists, had hitherto neglected. Two articles in the *Queen's Quarterly* on "German Philosophy and Politics" (1915) and "German Philosophy and the War" (1916) heralded the publication in 1919 of his last book, *The State in Peace and War*. Notable for its detachment, this book contains a survey of the evolution of political ideas from the origin of the city-state to the rise of the modern nation-state, an analysis of the latter in terms of its great associations and institutions, and a lengthy discussion of international relations in peace and war. In the light of idealistic principles, Watson prophesied that the treatment of the defeated Central Powers, as well as the structure of the League of Nations, would lead to renewed war. He died in 1939 at the age of ninety-two, only a few months before this prediction was realized.

During the seventy-five years between 1850 and 1925, philosophy in Canada was the shield of religion: Canadian theologians advanced into battle armed first with the slogans of common sense, later of idealism. It is perhaps a unique feature of Canadian philosophical discussion during this long period that its problems, insofar as they were indigenous, should have been so greatly stimulated by the impact of biblical criticism. Such men as Young, Murray, and Watson were keenly interested in securing support for the new approach to the Scriptures. They were equally prepared to demonstrate that idealism was designed to transform Christianity into a rational faith. Thus philosophy tended to mirror those movements, and only those movements,

<sup>1</sup> John Watson, *The Interpretation of Religious Experience* (Glasgow, 1912), II, 327-328.



that could be used to secure rational support for religion. All other tendencies, more especially empiricism, positivism, utilitarianism, and evolutionary naturalism, as represented in the writings of Bentham, Comte, J. S. Mill, and Spencer, were continually subjected to relentless criticism in the universities.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that idealistic philosophy had a stultifying or repressive influence upon the Canadian community. Given the sociocultural resources of the period, it could be maintained that idealism had a liberating effect, more especially upon religious institutions. As there was no road back from historical criticism, it seemed to Canadian philosophers that religion simply had to be given a rational justification in idealistic terms. Surely such an attitude was preferable to the only alternative—short of a complete abandonment of religion—at that time, the advocacy of a return to authority and tradition. Nor should it be forgotten that most of the idealistic philosophers had, from the popular point of view, travelled far along the road to heterodoxy. In our century the gulf between philosophy and religion has constantly grown wider and wider, so that it has become increasingly difficult for the younger generation to appreciate Watson's belief that even ultimate issues can be reasonably and philosophically discussed.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that the constant preoccupation of Canadian idealists with religious problems tended to blind them to the creative possibilities inherent in new developments in the natural and social sciences. This weakness was nowhere more apparent than in their attitude to the theory of evolution. Young, Murray, and Watson would always protest that they were prepared to accept the theory of evolution as a scientific explanation of the origin of life. But for all their acceptance, the theory remained a dangerous one that might at any moment threaten their most cherished religious or philosophical beliefs. It must therefore be contained within idealistic metaphysics. Evolution had application only within the restricted domain of scientific methodology: its philosophical

implications, as developed by Herbert Spencer, must be assiduously refuted.

If the early 1870's were crucial years in Canadian philosophy in that they marked the transition from common sense to idealism, they were equally crucial years, though in quite a different way, in the development of American philosophy. For during those years the "Metaphysical Club," as C. S. Peirce called it, was meeting in Cambridge for the interchange of scientific and philosophical ideas. Its members were composed of two groups, one trained in the natural sciences, the other in historical and legal studies. But whatever their training or interests, these men were animated in their discussions by a rigorous adherence in all fields of investigation to the empirical methods of natural science and a common desire to apply the theory of evolution constructively and creatively to problems which philosophers had treated in terms of absolute principles. It was in this club, Peirce has recorded, that "the name and doctrine of pragmatism saw the light." Do the widely different attitudes of the Canadian idealists and the early American pragmatists in the 1870's toward scientific method and the theory of evolution offer an explanation of the widely different roles that philosophy was destined to play in the two countries in the twentieth century?

Whatever the explanation, twentieth-century American philosophy has been characterized by the development of many new movements which have found scant support in Canada. In the United States idealism was followed, if not replaced, by a philosophical position more definitely attuned to the practical atmosphere of the times—the pragmatism of James, Mead, and Dewey. During the last forty years so many American schools have arisen that Arthur Murphy has appropriately written of the "era of the 'isms.'" Along with the older brands of idealism and pragmatism, there have developed several varieties of realism, emergent naturalism, and finally logical positivism. Each new concept in the sciences, each new social enthusiasm, has tended to give birth to a new "ism," so that the American in-

tellectual scene has become a veritable fashion-parade of ideas. And all of these "isms" have been taught in the universities with a genteel tolerance, an urbane scepticism, that must have reached its culmination in Santayana's generous recommendation, "Let each clean the windows of his own soul in his own fashion and enjoy the cosmic view as, from his particular angle, it could be surveyed."

Whether fortunately or unfortunately, no such luxuriant native growths have sprung up in Canada. Faced with a multitude of American and European "isms," Canadians have emphasized anew the importance of the history of philosophy: the thing most worth while is the famous philosophical literature of the past. The history of philosophy must be thoroughly mastered before critical or speculative activities can be profitably undertaken. Influential leadership in this direction was given through the life work of George Sidney Brett (1879-1944), who also introduced realism into Canada.

Brett was a realist—but a realist whom it is difficult to place within the conventional schools, either ancient or modern. He was undoubtedly greatly influenced by his studies in classical philosophy (one always associates him with Aristotle) to which may be attributed his breadth of view and unusual tolerance. He seemed to be above the conflicts of less profound thinkers, and his vision was distant enough to see that apparently contradictory philosophies usually became synthesized in the mould of time. He strenuously rejected subjective idealism, varieties of realism which interpose ideas or essences between the subject and the object (both he regarded as confessions of agnosticism), and pragmatic or activist points of view. Nor did he think that philosophy should be overweighted with logical positivism or symbolic logic: the psychological, historical, and social contexts were for him more suitable and more significant.

In his own positive position he accepted a complete identification of the subject and the object in the act of cognition. The lowest element in knowledge is the judgement. Concepts and

images belong to the psychological, not the epistemological, analysis of experience and cannot themselves constitute judgement. Both the genetic and the anthropological treatments of experience are to be viewed with suspicion; neither of these approaches touches the epistemological question; neither at its best can do more than present successive stages in the complications of specific objects, whether mental, human, or animal. In knowledge one must pass from an area which admits of categorization to another area which admits of categorization, and so on. Any attempt to unite successive fields of categorization in terms of behaviour or genetic continuity is eluding knowledge. This type of epistemology has certain affinities with early Aristotelian realism, but there were, in Brett's version, important reservations, particularly with respect to the problem of negation and the nature of limits of analysis.

"The given" in experience is that which permeates and includes the subject and *within which* analysis takes place. This sensibility is neither sensation in the traditional meaning nor a developed aesthetic experience. Whether we deal with it as a whole or in detail, it is an experience of a qualitative totality or a diversity in some special reference. This was the point of his recurrence to Hobhouse's "Concrete Apprehension," and it also explains why, in discussing questions of religious experience, he invariably emphasized Otto's *Idea of the Holy*. Though Brett was never enthusiastic over Hegel's idealism or Bosanquet's doctrine of logical coherence as a test of truth, he approved of the latter's view that the form of thought is a living function and the phases and moments of its function are the varieties and elements of its form. He was critical of the limitations of pragmatism but tolerant of its quest for a doctrine of reality as a condition actually present or "enjoyed" in some measure.

A wide and vivid appreciation of all things in the world around him seems to have been the motive of his realism. Things in their pressing and significant reality are apprehended, and the concepts or categories of thought can be evident only within

such a matrix. But the nature of this kind of experience, in relation to what have commonly been known as *sensa*, was not made clear in his teaching; nor did he seem to have a conclusive doctrine of precisely what it is we are dealing with when we talk about concepts, forms, subsistences. He was not very well satisfied with neorealism, critical realism, or phenomenology, and considered them rather naïve distortions of experience, insecurely founded on the predilections of a narrowly intellectualistic approach. Bosanquet could never have charged him (as he did the ordinary realist) with delighting in denial and limitation for its own sake.

Influenced by long research on Gassendi and by careful studies of Leibniz, Lotze, and Bergson, Brett's metaphysical position was a form of dynamic pluralism. Significant and intelligible action is the key to explanation; action manifests itself at different levels, the inorganic, the organic, the rational, and so on. There are two forms of pluralism, one metaphysical, the other methodological. Existent objects are individuals, and the individual is not to be interpreted (as by the Aristotelians) within the species. To admit the teleology which raises the species above the individual is to bring back the old essence under another guise and to substitute an abstraction for an existent entity. Methodological pluralism emphasizes categorical areas; each specific science has its categories, which in each case constitute an interdefinitive system. As objects become more and more complex, more and more systems of categories are involved in explanation and classification. Brett believed that no scheme had been devised in which the different systems of categories, such as those of physics and psychology, were unified within more inclusive categories. Metaphysics is not, therefore, the ultimate general science holding within its framework the more restricted sciences.

Though a realist, Brett was perennially fascinated by the great British idealists, Green, Bradley, and Bosanquet. He realized that they had tried strenuously to reconcile presup-

positions not peculiar to themselves with experience as a "given," and to do it on a grand scale. In their thinking, no matter how intellectual reality might be as a *system*, its other characteristic as a *realm of values* arose from the fact that the full nature of the given was their real concern. But he was rightly suspicious of the special and limited interests of the Canadian idealists.

Brett's most outstanding and permanent contributions are concerned with intellectual history rather than with systematic epistemology or metaphysics. His published works include *The Philosophy of Gassendi* (1908), *A History of Psychology* (3 vols., 1912-1921), *The Government of Man* (1913), *Psychology, Ancient and Modern* (1928), and some hundred and twenty-five articles and reviews on the history of science, the history of philosophy, the culture of India, political theory, ethics, and religion. One of the world's greatest historians of psychology, his early interest in this field developed into a more general interest in the history of science. He was greatly concerned over the long continued and growing separation of science and the humanities in our educational systems. The only remedy for him was the humanizing of the sciences through the use of the historical method. The great ideas of Hegel's philosophy of history, the idea of continuity and the idea of the organic totality of life, are essential to the historical approach not only in science but in all other fields of inquiry as well. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have seen an increasing departmentalization of thought—a departmentalization which is incompatible with both of these great Hegelian ideas and from which, incidentally, literary historians have probably suffered most. In a period when the highest intellectual achievements are those which have primary contact with scientific progress, it is essential to break down departmental walls and diffuse as widely as possible a knowledge of the achievements of modern science in their historical and cultural setting.

No one could have argued more vigorously than Brett for the importance of science; at the same time no one could have pro-

tested more vigorously than he against the superstition that "Science is All." For he realized too well that science has not inevitably been the benefactor of society, rescuing it from political strife or religious mania; nor has science been entirely free itself from bigotry and narrow-mindedness. It would be good for scientists to know that they are not independent of social forces; the history of science would give them an essential insight into their failures as well as their successes. "The object of a history of science is not to produce scientific discoveries so much as to create the right attitude toward science and to make people realize that the spirit of discovery is only a species of curiosity which is innate in most minds, and with proper encouragement can survive the monotony of routine." Brett's technical contributions to this field, in such papers as "Astronomical Symbolism" and "The Effect of the Discovery of the Barometer on Contemporary Thought," provide rich illustrations of the power of the philosophic intelligence to illuminate that type of cultural environment which sustains and fosters the growth of the scientific outlook.

If Brett refused to separate rigidly philosophy and science, he was equally unaware of any gulf between philosophy and literature. In fact he believed that Greek and Roman literature and philosophy could be made a single comprehensive topic if properly treated. Philosophy and literature are also parallel paths in modern culture. For one cannot conceive of the existence of modern literature without postulating a system of social relations in which one finds some degree of science and philosophy as well as fiction and poetry. Brett taught a lesson highly relevant to Canadians, and one that they have hardly yet begun to learn—the lesson that all through history creative achievements in literature and art have been the result not of accident or fancy but of great ideas critically maintained.

Brett's contribution to philosophy was characterized by a profound and comprehensive scholarship, an unceasing use of the historical method, and an abiding confidence in the function

of reason. It was his conviction, as it was that of Hegel before him, that comprehensiveness is essential in philosophy.

This comprehensiveness makes greatness: through it a man may be the spectator of all times and places. But he must not hope to gain this comprehensive outlook by occupying one solitary peak: he must not flatter himself that there is an essence of all essences, that he can condense all life and thought into one magic drop. On the contrary he must keep the original wealth of material undiminished if he would have a world in which "life's garden blows"; if he abstracts and simplifies, the product is an "essence," a drop of scent in place of the living flower.<sup>2</sup>

In the service of this ideal Brett wrought in many fields: he read and mastered texts in many languages in many periods of history; he contributed not only to philosophy and psychology, but also to science, literature, politics, and religion.

Any final estimate of Brett's contribution to philosophy must necessarily emphasize the unique historical and synoptic method which he employed in the treatment of philosophical problems. What is the value of the history of philosophy? The American philosopher, Robert Scoon, has answered this question with wisdom and clarity:

The history of philosophy . . . can become a means of acquiring ideas of universal import, understanding the process of ideas, and gaining an insight into the natural capacities of the mind. . . . How can the meaning of truth be appreciated except by first watching the long struggle which philosophy and science have made for it? . . . Only through the history of philosophy does philosophy become conscious of itself.<sup>3</sup>

To Brett the history of philosophy was a living body of thought. Faced with the endless procession of philosophical systems, he yielded neither to the sceptical relativism of Dilthey's

<sup>2</sup> G. S. Brett, *The Philosophy of Gassendi* (London, 1908), pp. vi-vii.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Scoon, *Greek Philosophy before Plato* (Princeton, 1928), pp.



*Historismus* nor to the rigorous absolutism of Husserl's *Phänomenologie*. In the history of philosophy he sought, rather, the meaning of existence for humanity. His unceasing use of the historical method must have been inspired also by a belief in the essential unity of civilization: he did much to establish that unity by exhibiting the logical and historical relationships between philosophical ideas and other great systems of ideas in science, literature, politics, and religion. In his dynamic mind the whole intellectual past of mankind seemed to live again.

During the span of Brett's life there occurred in Western civilization a remarkable development of the metaphysics of the irrational. The tendency to undermine reason has, of course, been greatly encouraged both by the violence of temper which has characterized international relations in our time and by the widespread cultural disintegration which has accompanied the ravages of two world wars. There has also been a rapid rise of the arts of propaganda, or manipulation of public opinion by group, class, or national interests. Frank affirmations of mass desires have replaced attempts to persuade by reasoned arguments. Within the very citadel of philosophy itself irrationalism has found powerful support among the disciples of Bergson's voluntarism, Westermarck's ethical relativism, Freud's psychology of the unconscious, and Pareto's doctrine of logical residues. Brett realized that in Canada the revolt against reason takes the form of a condemnation of logic and an exaggerated emphasis on the value of spontaneity and of expression for its own sake: "With the distrust of reason goes a distrust of education as distinct from manual training; and finally a distrust of law, whether natural or political, as something invented by the superior person to bind with fictitious chains the unenlightened." In perspective, perhaps Brett's greatest general contribution to Canada was his constant emphasis on the value of reason as opposed to unreason. Within the terms of the great tradition of Plato and Aristotle he showed, in an unforgettable manner, that

only as men had relied on reason had they been able to conquer and liberate portions of their world.

The emphasis on the history of philosophy that characterizes Canadian universities today was developed in the Maritime Provinces by Herbert Leslie Stewart, one of the last of the eminent Canadian idealists. To Stewart's greatness as a teacher generations of his students testify, and his interpretation of the development of ideas in Western civilization will not soon be forgotten. He was, in unusual degree, a teacher of teachers: three of the present members of the department of philosophy in the University of Toronto, for example, began their study of the subject under him at Dalhousie University in Halifax.

Stewart's wide interests and brilliance as a thinker, writer, and speaker found expression in a variety of media. He wrote numerous articles and reviews for newspapers and semipopular journals. In 1921 he founded, and for the next twenty-six years edited, *The Dalhousie Review*. Under his direction this periodical became a principal organ for the diffusion in Canada of literary, political, and religious ideas. He was an even more influential educator of the Canadian public as a radio commentator: for twenty-two years, from 1931 until his death, he was a weekly speaker on one of the Halifax stations; for ten years he gave a weekly interpretation of current events on the national radio system, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. No matter what medium of communication he used, Stewart always brought to the interpretation of his subject a comprehensive knowledge of the history of ideas, a rich background of philosophical idealism, and a profound religious insight. He was a master of the art of popular exposition of the best that has been thought and said in the world. In addition to his activities as university teacher, contributor of numerous scholarly articles to learned periodicals, journalist, public lecturer, and radio commentator, Stewart published eight books.

Stewart had little or no patience with the technical con-

troversies of the philosophical schools. For him, as for Plato, the stimulant of philosophy was in the perplexing experiences of life. Philosophy begins in wonder at an apparent contradiction; the philosopher is distinguished by his unwillingness to leave such contradictions unchallenged; for the unphilosophic, what Montaigne called "importunities of the mind" are few and easily calmed. It was always Stewart's special concern to bring philosophical analysis to bear on disputes concerning the right ordering of life, in which (as he thought) the disputants took different sides because they had assumed uncritically quite different ideologies. The critical examination of assumptions in the field of values was his chief philosophical concern. But he never conducted his inquiries in a philosophical vacuum: he was more concerned with the problems of men than with the abstractions of "professional" philosophers.

A concern with values as they actually function in the affairs of mankind led Stewart to write his most fascinating and important book, *Anatole France, the Parisian*. He approaches the great French satirist with no mere literary or psychological interest, although he offers a brilliant exposition of these aspects of France's achievement and character. He is interested, essentially, in exhibiting the competing ideologies whose interplay in the mind of Anatole France provides a remarkable example of their interplay among the French people generally. The frustrating and paralytic indecision of French politicians may be best understood through a study of the moods of one of the greatest of French writers. As Stewart interprets him, Anatole France was not merely one of an isolated group of intellectuals (as he himself supposed) but an authentic reflector of the moods of his countrymen. Commenting in his "Autobiography" on his interpretation of Anatole France, Stewart writes:

We have watched such *parisianisme* as at once the charm and the bane of French life in the quarter-century since I wrote of Anatole France as its typical exponent, whose universal tolerance involved incapacity of leadership at a time his country needed resolute leader-

ship most of all. It has produced the spectacle of a great democratic country in which the average life of a government is but three months, and the alternate prospects of its "going Communist" and "going Fascist" are often equally plausible, but there is never assurance of a consistent policy on which foreign Chancelleries can rely for any substantial length of time.<sup>4</sup>

For Stewart, it was impossible to understand national and international affairs without a basic knowledge of the culture, and especially the literature, of the people concerned. He was one of the great humanists of our time.

Humanism found another brilliant representative in Henry Reid MacCallum (1897-1949), whose untimely death deprived Canada of one of her most learned and sensitive thinkers. To his teaching and writing in aesthetics he brought an impressive knowledge of the history of art and literature, a piercing religious experience, and creative capacities as a painter and poet.

MacCallum defended art constantly and vigorously against the sinister and aggressive "scientism" of our day. In logical positivism, now so dominant in Anglo-American philosophy, he saw merely another aggressive manifestation of scientism against the true spirit of art. Such insanity, he believed, is "marked by excessive extraversion and loss of the sense of self": it exhibits, "as our whole civilization does, a clinical alternation of manic activity and panic depression." The patient's sense of the authenticity of subjective fact can only be restored "by inducing him to explore the realm of art." In *Imitation and Design* (1953), published posthumously, as well as in several articles published while he lived, MacCallum attempts to show that logical formalism must be supplemented by "a way of thinking common and basic to myth, religion and the arts."

Owing to his early death and the fragmentary nature of his

<sup>4</sup> Herbert L. Stewart, unpublished "Autobiography," p. 101. The present writer wishes to express his thanks to Dr. and Mrs. Allan G. Gornall for kind permission to draw from the late Dr. Stewart's "Autobiography" in the preparation of this chapter.

published work, MacCallum did not succeed in providing a satisfactory philosophical answer to the movements spawned by scientism. During the past twenty years, Canadian thought has been characterized by a different kind of attempt to resolve the conflicting "isms" through the achievement of a "balanced philosophy." The leading advocate of this approach is Rupert Clendon Lodge (b. 1886), who seems to have derived the idea from his study of Plato's method after the foundation of the Academy.

Lodge maintains that a philosopher must be either an idealist, a realist, or a pragmatist, and he has exhibited great ingenuity in the classification of various "isms" that seem to fall outside the three main movements. Is it possible to achieve a balanced philosophy that will do justice to all three schools and yet be neither an emasculated synthesis nor an incoherent eclecticism? The solution consists in the use of the comparative method. Confronted with the three distinctive philosophical schools, the comparative philosopher hastens to recognize the merit of each:

He points out that, in the present stage of knowledge, students of the history of philosophy are indebted to all three schools and cannot do without any of them. From its especial angle, each makes a positive contribution to the subject. And while each has its negative and exclusive side, with which he is unable entirely to sympathize, he sees clearly that their efforts supplement one another, and it is his business, as a comparative philosopher to point this out. . . . Plato was a "comparative philosopher," the founder of a new school which is only now coming into its own. The dramatic presentation of conflicting theories in his *Dialogues* and the "friendly rivalry" of his students in the Academy are partly reproduced in the "symposia" of our Philosophic Associations, in which representatives of different schools compare alternative hypotheses and put each other to the question.<sup>5</sup>

Faced with the charge that the comparative method of philosophizing leads to an antiphilosophical scepticism, Lodge replies:

<sup>5</sup> R. C. Lodge, "The Comparative Method in Philosophy," in *Manitoba Essays* (Toronto, 1937), p. 430.

If I desire to study triangularity, of course I study equilateral triangles. But I do not stop there. I also study isosceles triangles, and scalene triangles as well. I understand that the three species exclude one another. They are alternative forms which the genus takes. But none of these forms excludes the genus, to which all equally belong. To study the genus, triangularity, I have of course to study all the specific forms which it takes. Comparative study is the only proper method.

In exactly the same way, if I desire to study philosophy, and if it is true that philosophy necessarily takes one of three specific forms, I have of course to study all three. If philosophy is essentially speculative, an affair of alternative possibilities, I must study those alternative possibilities, and must not, in my enthusiasm for realism (or idealism or pragmatism) close my eyes to alternative possibilities. In so far as any one alternative (e.g., realism) refuses to be regarded as one alternative amongst others, and claims to be in exclusive possession of the whole truth, I must be sceptical of its claims. In fact, in so far as it ceases to be sceptical about its own claims, and becomes convinced realism (or convinced idealism or convinced pragmatism), it loses its open-mindedness and is really ceasing to be truly speculative and philosophical. In a word, it is precisely such one-sided philosophizing which is anti-philosophical, and not comparative philosophy, with its scepticism directed against one-sidedness. As the speculative construction of interpretations which essentially admit of alternatives, philosophy is necessarily sceptical of one-sided claims; and its proper method of study is necessarily comparative.<sup>6</sup>

The wary reader will detect in Lodge's writings a preference for the form of transcendental idealism developed by Bosanquet. But this personal bias has not prevented him from applying his comparative method with uncommon energy and penetration not only to the traditional problems of philosophy but also to various practical concerns such as education and business organization. These applications suggest that Lodge's approach, though derived independently, has certain affinities with views regarding the nature of philosophical systems advocated by such Ameri-

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 431-432.

can philosophers as Felix S. Cohen, Arthur E. Murphy, W. H. Sheldon, and, more especially, Stephen C. Pepper. Many Canadian philosophers, while deriving instructive ideas from these writers, have concluded anew that a balanced philosophy will be more surely achieved through an intensive study of the history of philosophy.

As Canadian philosophy enters its fifth phase and its second century, it is clear that the present strong emphasis on the history of philosophy should be interpreted in terms of the tradition of the last hundred years. Ever since Murray published his *Outline of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy* in 1870, the best philosophical scholarship in Canada has been devoted to historical studies. The long list of publications in this field includes Watson's books on Kant and Schelling, Caldwell's *Schopenhauer*, Brett's *History of Psychology*, Lodge's Platonic studies, Stewart's work on Nietzsche, Hendel's massive study of Rousseau, Anderson's books on Plato and Bacon, Goudge's *Thought of C. S. Peirce*, and Johnson's study of Whitehead's theory of reality. Such an enduring and distinguished tradition indicates that one of the principal emphases of Canadian philosophy in the future will be in the field of intellectual history.

In the perspective of the last hundred years, it is also clear that Brett must be acclaimed the founder and chief inspiration of the first indigenous philosophical movement to develop in Canada, the Toronto school of intellectual history. Among the members of this group, all of whom were trained by Brett, may be included F. H. Anderson, T. A. Goudge, George Edison, D. R. G. Owen, A. H. Johnson, Marcus Long, R. F. McRae, and Emil Fackenheim. Working in association with them, though concentrating mainly on the history of mediaeval philosophy, are such gifted scholars of St. Michael's College and the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies as A. C. Pegis, J. M. Kelly, J. R. O'Donnell, and L. E. M. Lynch, who were trained in part by Brett. Both groups have already made, and will continue to make, distinctive contributions to intellectual history. The Institute of Mediaeval Studies, which was founded

in 1927, and was under the brilliant presidency of Gerald B. Phelan from 1932 to 1946, has also made a distinguished contribution to Canadian philosophy through the many eminent European scholars who have been attracted to its faculty, including Jacques Maritain, Etienne Gilson, and I. T. Eschmann.

For more than three-quarters of the last hundred years, philosophy in Canada was closely associated either with the defence of religious orthodoxy by common-sense philosophy or with the provision of a more rational basis for theology by idealism. During the last twenty-five years certain shifts in sociocultural emphases have led to new alignments in philosophy. The depression of the 1930's convinced many religious leaders who had looked upon Christianity essentially as a social gospel, and who had long supported the idealists on their left flank, that idealism was lacking in social realism. Such clergymen as J. S. Woodsworth and T. C. Douglas now turned to the Fabians and became leaders in the organization and development of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, the socialist party of Canada. In this enterprise they were assisted by a number of philosophers, and especially by Gregory Vlastos. Other religious leaders, less philosophical in temper, of whom the most spectacular was William Aberhart, adopted the theories of Social Credit as a solution of the problems of the depression. Both the Social Credit and socialist movements should be interpreted as defections from idealistic social theory, as well as from the social-gospel school of Christianity.

In the 1940's the turmoil and anxieties of World War II resulted in a further defection of religious leaders from the idealistic ranks, this time on their right flank. Theologians who, following Watson's lead, had long looked to idealism as a support for liberal Christianity now took up the European "theology of crisis" as developed by Barth, Brunner, Niebuhr, and Tillich. During the past fifteen years the slogans of Kierkegaard's existentialism have replaced the slogans of Watson's idealism in the enthusiasm of neo-orthodox theologians. The idealists were now wounded even in the houses of their friends.



The traditional alliance of idealism with religion was turned to its disadvantage not only by existentialist theologians but also by Marxists, some of whom were recruits from the social gospel. In their representation of the church as a vested interest of the middle class, Marxists have not hesitated to denounce idealism for its long religious associations: the history of idealism, they insist, shows that it likewise is essentially a middle-class ideology. Abandoned on both its right and left flanks by religious leaders, and subjected to heavy criticism by Fabians and Marxists, it is perhaps not surprising that idealism has failed to attract most of the younger philosophers. After a half-century of noon-day brilliance, followed by a long twilight, idealism now faces its eclipse.

While recent sociocultural developments have assisted in the denigration of idealism, they have led to a realization of the importance of social philosophy, especially in western Canada. The economy of the Prairie Provinces is peculiarly vulnerable, and this extreme vulnerability has resulted in the rise of numerous protest movements in politics and economics. It is not accidental that such movements as the United Farmers of Alberta, the Progressive party, the Wheat Pools, Social Credit, and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation have all had their inspiration on the prairies. Since the days of Henry Wise Wood, western farm leaders have been keenly engaged in discussing social, political, and economic problems. The rise of the United Farmers of Alberta to political power in 1921, followed by the victories of Social Credit in Alberta in 1935 and of Agrarian Socialism in Saskatchewan in 1944 are only the more spectacular results of forty years of such discussions. In western Canada there is a growing feeling that the universities should provide the systematic thought that is essential for a solution of its problems.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The writer wishes to express his thanks to the editors of the University of Toronto Press and of *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* (published by the University of Buffalo) for kind permission to incorporate into the present chapter certain material which has appeared previously.

The need for a systematic development of social philosophy is becoming increasingly apparent not only to social and political leaders but also to social scientists and philosophers. Owing to the influence of the British tradition, Canadian social scientists have never become as indifferent, or even hostile, to philosophical considerations as their American neighbours. Among philosophers there is also a growing awareness that men who can speak with authority the languages of both philosophy and the social sciences are sorely needed today; for any social philosophy that can hope to stand must carry scientific as well as ethical conviction. Inspired by Adam Shortt (1859-1931), a pupil of Watson and a pioneer political scientist, a tradition in social philosophy has been slowly developing. Canadian publications in social philosophy, some by philosophers, others by social scientists, one by a former prime minister, include Watson's *State in Peace and War*, Mackenzie King's *Industry and Humanity*, Brett's *Government of Man*, MacIver's *Modern State*, Urwick's *Social Good*, and Innis' *Political Economy and the Modern State*. This list suggests that the most concrete social thinking in Canada has been carried on in the field of social philosophy.

No Canadian thinker has remained more consistently devoted to social philosophy than John Macdonald (b. 1887), who has combined the teaching of social philosophy and social psychology at the University of Alberta for thirty-five years. Through his books, essays, public lectures, and radio talks he has been very influential in the development of the interest in social philosophy which exists today in western Canada.

Macdonald shares the view of the present writer that philosophy should be brought into more fruitful relationships with the social sciences on the one hand and with the structure of social and political action on the other. A new educational outlook is needed which will enable us to develop both a facility in the investigation of social facts and a capacity to formulate rational value-judgements based on an adequate philosophical analysis. Social facts without social values are meaningless; social

values without social facts are impotent. The divorce between these two approaches in educational systems is a shocking commentary on modern man's capacity either to understand or to control his social environment.

In the immediate future, the present writer believes that social philosophy has two principal functions to fulfil. The first of these functions is methodological, that is, it is concerned with the problem of method in the social sciences. What kind of information can the social sciences give us about the type of reality that we call social? Without attempting to prescribe methods of investigation to the social sciences, social philosophy can provide the critical apparatus for evaluating methods already chosen. It can develop an epistemology of social phenomena. The content of history courses, for example, at the elementary- and secondary-school levels in Canada may be taken as an index of the urgent need for critical analysis of the basic principles of historiography. Other important problems, properly considered in this phase of social philosophy, are the place of forceful self-assertion in human affairs, the relation of human will to alleged laws of social phenomena (e.g., are these laws descriptions of the workings of wills or of the workings of events apart from the influence of wills?), the place of induction in economics, and the logical aspects of the social sciences.

The second and more important function of social philosophy is concerned with the problem of ultimate social values. The social sciences, *as sciences*, strive for ethical neutrality, although the distinction between facts and values is not consistently maintained. Economics, for example, deals with ends hypothetically; social philosophy with the choosing of ends. The one may inquire whether capitalism is efficient in attaining its ends; the other, whether the ends of capitalism are to be chosen. This ideal of the ethical neutrality of the social sciences implies, of course, that these sciences are concerned not with things as they ought to be, but with things as they are. Such an attitude is highly desirable in pure social science, but unless it is suppl-

mented by a theory of ultimate values it will lead finally either to a romantic or to a dogmatic attitude toward social ends. Even economics, in attempting to divorce ends from means, is tainted with romanticism. We must have social facts before us if we are to determine the ends of social policy or the purposes of social institutions; but we must also have a training in the formation of value-judgements. Three different questions arise in connection with social institutions: (1) What ends do they in fact serve? (2) What ends are they intended to serve? (3) What ends ought they to serve? Present educational systems are weak in the training they provide in the assessment of value-judgements of the types necessary to deal with these three questions. Yet in contemporary discussions of capitalism versus state socialism, for example, it is necessary to be able to deal logically with such involved value-judgements.

These problems are not, of course, the exclusive concern of Canadians. Everywhere in the world today there exists the same need for the clarification of the fundamental epistemological and methodological conceptions of the social sciences, as well as for the provision of techniques by means of which facts and values may be related to programs of social action. But the humanistic temper of its philosophy, the happy relations that exist between philosophers and social scientists in its universities, and the relative calmness of its national life provide a unique opportunity for Canada to take the lead in the development of social philosophy.

There are certain indications that philosophy will play a much more dynamic role in Canadian civilization in the future than it has played during the past hundred years. Its emphasis on intellectual history will continue to bring it into more vital relationships with scientific and humanistic interests; an emphasis on social philosophy will build up more intimate connections with the educational, social, economic, and political problems of the wider community. There are also indications that in the future Canadian philosophy will be brought into

closer relationships with American philosophy. While graduate students have attended American universities since the late 1880's, the main influence in Canadian philosophy has been British, and there has been a tendency to fill philosophical chairs with men trained at Oxford or the Scottish universities. No philosophical journals are published in Canada, nor is there a national philosophical association. But a number of younger philosophers are taking an increasingly active interest both in the meetings of the American Philosophical Association and in contributing to American philosophical periodicals. In view of these tendencies, it is altogether fitting that the American Philosophical Association (Eastern Division) should have held its first meeting outside the United States at Toronto in 1950 and that its Pacific Division should have met at Vancouver the following year.

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# French-Canadian Philosophers

AT THE outset it would seem best to call attention to the fact that the attitude of the French-Canadian philosophers and their manner of thinking is of a very particular type. The writer would like to stress this fact before introducing the reader to their writings. Only after he has reviewed the implications of their most characteristic features will the reader be in a position to compare the French-Canadian philosophers with those of their fellow countrymen who do not concern themselves with the scholastic tradition.\*

Most of the French-Canadian philosophers belong to one of three universities: Laval, Ottawa or Montreal. Since these universities are specifically Thomistic, most French-Canadian philosophers will refer to St. Thomas' doctrine when they have to resolve the problems presented by present-day circumstances or by the current of opinions which emanate from philosophies of various origins.

It is only natural that an observer should want to know the

\* The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance received from the Reverend Neal Kaveny, O.F.M., in translating this article into English.

reason for this situation. First of all, the fact that these philosophers always hold to the teaching of a master and, moreover to the teaching of a single master, cannot help but astonish those who are accustomed to think of philosophy as a search for truth by means of personal reflection aided by a survey of the various opinions that exist on a given subject. Second, those who know that the French-Canadian universities are Catholic and that, as such, they must conform to the "Apostolic Constitution," may quite naturally wonder whether philosophical liberty is safeguarded when a philosopher is always directed to follow St. Thomas' thought. Finally, those who are at all acquainted with the writings of French-Canadian philosophers may have often noted the doctrinal character of their statements. They will have noticed that a great difference exists between the writings of the Thomistic School and that which has been written on the same subject by other philosophers. They are quite likely accustomed to seeing the philosopher proceed by way of research. They will also have noted that even when this type of philosopher binds his statements to a philosophical system on which he bases his major premises, he does so with the idea that he is not so tied to the system that he cannot change some part of it, or even carry the system to some unforeseen consequences. It is of little concern to this philosopher if he thus deviates considerably from his major premises so long as he can give a good reason for doing so. In the writings of the French Canadians one will find something quite different. At first acquaintance it may seem that in the works of the latter all philosophical questions are decided beforehand; that the solution of any problem consists merely in stating a truth already known and using it to solve a problem for which it seems already to contain the solution. It may also seem that even research is conducted under the direction of a thought previously accepted, and even willed. It is this contrast between some contemporary philosophical writings and the works of the Thomistic School of philosophy which has made the latter seem to be a philosophy of *magister dixit*.

These are perhaps some of the reactions that may be experienced by one who has merely glanced through some Canadian philosophical works, or by one who is only slightly acquainted with them. It is not at all astonishing that one who is not acquainted with scholastic philosophy should react in this way. It is a quite natural reaction. Therefore, before introducing the reader to the most important writings published during the last few decades by French-Canadian philosophers, the writer thinks it would be useful to illustrate one of the essential characteristics of Aristotelean-Thomistic philosophy—its universalism.

The most important feature of the Aristotelean method of knowing is that it teaches the mind first to grasp things by what they have in common with one another, for instance that every man is a rational animal. Hence the use of "universal" to mean this common character, the essence of a thing. It is just this manner of thinking which has made many people look upon scholasticism with suspicion. Yet it is necessary to appreciate this manner of thinking if one is to understand French-Canadian culture. The French-Canadian philosopher has always considered this kind of knowledge worth having. It is largely responsible for the survival of French-Canadian traditions, which are humanistic as well as religious.

For one who wants to know the humanistic basis for these traditions and the significance of the French-Canadian philosophers' writings, it is quite necessary not to lose sight of how the French-Canadian philosophers enclose in a universal concept more than a mere vague idea. A universal concept is no mere form that may never have been experienced by man.

What the philosopher means by "universal" is that everywhere and forever mind and body constitute man, so that one can judge Socrates or Plato to the extent that he followed the rational rule of life. A man without fault will never exist. Yet every man is possessed of a capacity for becoming what he must

be, provided his mind functions correctly. Every life, be it spoiled, mediocre, or virtuous, is an exhibit of what human nature as a source of action can do. Though this cannot be measured or perceived by our senses, no one may deny its existence. If it cannot be identified with any particular living being, all men share in it. That is why it is called "universal."

Another example may bring into relief the reason why scholastic philosophers consider it so important to reach the universal idea about all objects of knowledge. Man is a social being. Social man, as such, is not the carpenter, the baker, or the physician, but all men as they are united as parts of a whole. From this point of view it is not this man with his private activities who is perceived, but each and every man in his mutual co-operation toward the common good.

What makes the citizen is a "something" to be found in every man living in society, although it is not to be identified with the particular features of his individual being. We cannot see it, although it is the reason for all social activities. A citizen will be good or bad in the degree that the virtues which make the good citizen (and which, as such, we do not perceive by our senses) are realized in that particular individual as required by the common good, *hic et nunc*.

So long as these universal features which make the citizen are not discovered there is the danger of identifying good citizenship with some activities apparently social but not required by the common good. The same may be said in regard to human nature. If we do not conceive human nature as being common to all men, we can but formulate principles of morality founded on a way of life peculiar to some particular people or time.

This brief statement has been made in order to prepare the reader to understand why the Scholastics concern themselves so much with the search for a universal knowledge by using experience as a starting point. Their concern is justified by the fact that as specialization continues, a tendency to underrate

philosophical thought is arising which threatens to eliminate from the French-Canadian way of life the efficacy of its humanistic tradition.

This does not mean that philosophical education is being brought into disrepute. Nevertheless, contemporary pragmatists who find more interest in the field of positive sciences tend to disregard it. This fact offers proof for the necessity of stressing the objective value of a knowledge, which may seem to be dissociated from experience, but is really based upon it. We must depend, for instance, on this knowledge to make a judgement about the right use of material goods.

One would in vain stress the necessity of universal knowledge if he could not give proof of its objectivity. This problem must be solved if philosophy is to keep its position among the sciences. In the course of history philosophers did not fail to wonder if and how human intelligence could get the idea of a reality which was not the object of their senses: Could this reality be represented in some way? Was it solely a product of the intelligence? How? What was the role of the mind, that of the object?

Philosophers have answered these questions, but they have not agreed. Aristotelean-Thomistic philosophy has found an answer which its followers believe convincing. One must understand the Aristotelean answer, however. It is to be found in his treatise on psychology in which he applies to the living being the general principles set forth in the Books of Physics for every kind of change. Knowledge is a kind of change, and like every change, supposes a mutual contact between what is altered and that which alters it. Nutrition, for example, is a change in a living being. This change is the result of both the action of food on the body and, similarly, the result of the action of the living being on the food which it assimilates.

This example used by Aristotle is very suggestive. It prepares the mind for the possibility of perceiving an extramental world. The knowing subject ought to be, like everything in change, in mutual contact with an object outside. This is merely another

example of a universal rule and enables man to understand what is according to Aristotle a philosophical explanation of experience. This explanation is supported by experience. It is so universal that it applies to all of nature. It cannot be rejected unless another equally universal reason be found for denying its worth.

These remarks may be useful for those who are astonished at the Scholastic's conviction that knowledge of universals can be an objective knowledge.

Some may wonder whether the mind can make the transition from knowledge that is universal to concrete reality—which it bypassed in its search for the universal idea. The mistrust with regard to the efficiency of this conclusion springs from the notion that the conclusion should be explanatory of sensible things as they actually exist. In the case of the individual man, the distrust comes from the fact that they expect to recognize in these conclusions man as he actually is, rather than man as he ought to be. It is the concern of ethics and of sound experimental psychology to give the reason for this discrepancy between man as he actually is and as he ought to be and to help men in their effort to reduce this discrepancy. The philosophical knowledge we have of man is primarily an ideal one, but it is no less objective. This same doubt as to the possibility of returning from the universal to the inanimate world is found principally in the field of physical science. The main concern of the philosophy of nature here is to point out that the Aristotelean explanation of the universe is not outmoded as are many early scientific tenets. This explanation is also implied in modern physical theories; no one has yet proved that this Aristotelean explanation is in contradiction with them.

The reader who is not well acquainted with the Aristotelean-Thomistic philosophy must keep in mind these necessarily short reflections if he wishes to understand French-Canadian philosophical writings and the contemporary culture which they in part support. It used to be said that the French Canadians had a philosophy of their own. It could more properly be said that

their way of life, consciously or not, depends in some measure on a humanistic tradition which has been favoured and safeguarded by their church.

The philosophical attitude of the French-Canadian philosophers is then by no means surprising. So confident are they in the lasting value of the humanistic tradition upon which they rely that, far from being conscious of coercion, they freely follow a single doctrine, which in fact depends on this tradition, with a profound sense of security and conviction. Some may be inclined to believe that this is a one-sided philosophical training and that it is prejudicial to the scientific character of the philosopher. But may not the very same objection be made of those who are trained to follow complete liberty of research, without any absolute truth by which they may measure their theories? Even though it is not a particular philosophical system which led such a person to his present position, may he not have let himself be influenced by a way of thinking of the world which it is incumbent upon him to justify? May not such a person be led by certain inward or outward forces to set out upon a road which he thinks he has freely chosen?

The main feature of the French-Canadian philosophers, then, is not to be found in their adherence to the doctrine of a single master. It is rather to be found in their common opinion that it would be to the disadvantage of progress in thinking if the principles of Aristotelean-Thomistic philosophy were abandoned.

However, only those people who are not acquainted with these philosophers' manner of thinking would be inclined to consider this attitude as a kind of "intellectual isolationism." Charles De Koninck, dean of the Faculty of Philosophy of Laval University, has opportunely stressed one of the reasons which induce the Thomist to present and explain philosophies with which they do not agree:

Following the directives of the constitution of our university, we must present and explain not only the philosophy which we hold

to be true, but the other philosophies as well, even such as are the most opposite to our own. And we are bound to do this in a quite objective manner: the interpretation must not replace the exposition. We should not close our eyes to opposite opinions; we are repeatedly encouraged to study them more closely, and to take a positive attitude towards them that we may benefit from whatever truth they might contain.<sup>1</sup>

Just as others, the Thomist takes an interest in the various philosophical systems which have succeeded each other in the course of history as well as in contemporary philosophy.

The Thomist, then, is expected to read and study opposing philosophies so that he may understand their implications, and he welcomes the opportunity to show how Thomism is able to meet these implications.

If French-Canadian philosophers hold to a single philosophy, it is by no means with the idea that they are exempt from knowing what has been thought by others. It may be that they understand the systems with which they are not in agreement as well as do the advocates of these systems, who often are not acquainted with Thomism.

A Thomist does not believe that he is merely repeating or commenting on a philosophy that has been decided once and for all, just because he holds to the very same doctrine in resolving current problems. In his opinion one does actually contribute to

<sup>1</sup> "Catholic theologians and philosophers, whose grave duty it is to defend natural and supernatural truth and instill it in the hearts of men, cannot afford to ignore or neglect these more or less erroneous opinions—monism, pantheism, idealism, immanentism, pragmatism, dialectical materialism, existentialism. Rather they must come to understand these same theories well, both because diseases are not properly treated unless they are rightly diagnosed and because sometimes even in these false theories a certain amount of truth is contained, and finally because these theories provoke more subtle discussion and evaluation of philosophical and theological truths. If philosophers and theologians strive merely to derive profit from the careful examination of these doctrines, there is no reason for an appeal to the teaching authority of the Church" (Pius XII, *Encyclical Humani generis*).



philosophy even though he is not constructing a new system or improving the basis of an extant philosophy. A man may be a real geometrician without constructing an entirely new geometrical science. He may be a real scientist even though he has not substituted a new hypothesis to replace a current one. No one can object to considering a man a geometrician who knows what a geometrical construction is and who by means of current postulates and definitions carries on the rational construction of geometrical figures. For the same reason there is no objection to considering as a scientist one who does no more than use modern physical science for the purpose of enlarging the field of scientific knowledge. The Thomist likewise has no doubt that he is working as a philosopher when, without constructing a new system, he is merely using those principles which have already helped to solve other problems. He knows that these same principles of the "perennial philosophy" can be applied as well to the solution of contemporary problems, for example, to the solution of the problems of management-labour relations.

The reader will probably now understand why in the writer's opinion it was necessary to stress the particular point of view of Aristotelean-Thomistic philosophy. This necessarily brief statement must be kept in mind by those who wish to learn the purpose and the meaning of French-Canadian writings. As may be expected, most of these contributions are of a fragmentary or specialized type and are published separately or in one of the following reviews:

*La Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa.* 1931- . Quarterly.

*Etudes et recherches.* 1932- . Published by l'Institut d'Études Médiévales, Montreal. To date twelve issues have appeared.

*Laval théologique et philosophique.* 1945- . Semiannual.

*Sciences ecclésiastiques.* 1948- . Edited by the Jesuit Fathers of the Seminary of Immaculate Conception, Montreal. Annual.

From a brief perusal of these publications, one may easily

infer that the questions discussed embrace almost the whole field of philosophy, but particularly the fields of logic, philosophy of nature, and politics. This feature is significant. It reveals that the French-Canadian philosophers are not unconcerned with the problems presented by contemporary life. Their discussions of these problems clearly indicate that they are aware of the philosophies which are responsible for the present-day world situation, and particularly of the challenge made by communism to democracies. It is politics and the philosophy of nature which are concerned with these problems and which have to clear the way to the real solutions.

As to logic, it is quite natural that an Aristotelean-Thomist pay a great deal of attention to the objectivity of knowledge by way of the "universal." The brief statement made above makes obvious the necessity of such a procedure. The objectivity of the knowledge gained in this fashion must have a firm foundation. Otherwise the whole philosophical system might be called into question. Two books of a scholarly and historical nature have been written on preliminary subjects: L.-M. Regis, O.P., *L'Opinion selon Aristote* (1935), and J. Péghaire, S.S.Sp., "*Intellectus*" et "*Ratio*" selon Saint Thomas d'Aquin (1936).

A great deal of research has been done as a result of the criticism which has been brought to bear on the Thomistic explanation of knowledge, sense knowledge as well as intellectual. A remarkable feature of the writings which have been published on this subject is that their authors are well acquainted with the opposite systems. The following books on this subject are of particular interest:

Péghaire, J., S.S.Sp., *Regard sur le connaître. Philosophie et problèmes contemporains*. 1949.

Regis, L.-M. *La Critique néo-thomiste est-elle Thomiste?* Cahier de philosophie II; Etudes et recherches, no. 4. 1938.

The problem of the relationship between the speculative knowledge and the practical knowledge is discussed in *Connaissance spéculative et connaissance pratique*, by Jean Pétrin

(1948). This book is of a scholarly nature, but may be of great interest for those people who are concerned with educational problems. Following St. Thomas' teaching, the author is seeking for a clear understanding of the nature of speculative knowledge as well as practical knowledge. A search into their relationship leads to the conclusion that speculative knowledge pervades all practical knowledge.

Charles De Koninck's first book, *Le Cosmos* (1935), which appeared in a limited edition, opens with an exposition of modern cosmological theory and then goes on to discuss evolution on both cosmic and biological scales. Its main purpose is to show that in the method and basic principles of perennial philosophy there is no ground for modern scholastic objections to evolution.

In *Le problème de l'indéterminisme* (1936) De Koninck defends the methodological principle of indeterminism, as it is applied by Heisenberg and Eddington, against the scholastics who base their criticism on a faulty interpretation of Aristotle's doctrine of contingency in nature, which is finalistic; whereas mathematical physics must abstract from finality, and thus from chance in Aristotle's sense. "Chance" is an equivocal term: in the philosophy of nature it means one thing, in calculus quite another. However, this does not mean that the principle of indeterminism has nothing to do with nature's acting for an end. Nature may be understood as using the "laws of chance," like a hunter uses birdshot to down the duck.

The philosophy of nature, because of its relationship with the modern physical sciences, has not been neglected by Canadian philosophers. The problems arising from this relationship have been discussed by Charles De Koninck in his extensive preface to Reverend Stanislas Cantin's book, *Précis de psychologie thomiste* (1948). The preface of this book is actually an introduction to the study of the soul. De Koninck stresses man's internal experience of external and internal sensation as the starting point of biology. It means that the investigation of liv-

ing beings ought to begin with a study of the soul in Aristotle's sense of this term as opposed to the cartesian one which has prevailed. If our notion of life were to be derived from external experience alone, it could never be more than a provisional hypothesis: the difference between living and nonliving might be no more than appearance. He discusses extensively the method of the sciences based on external experience alone (such as mathematical physics and experimental biology in the narrower sense), to show that the two methods must eventually join to reach living beings in their concretion. The reader will find in this book an instance of the philosopher's manner of treating the relationship between modern sciences and philosophy.

Evolution is one of the topics with which the philosopher of nature may be properly concerned. This problem has been discussed in *La doctrine de l'évolution*, by Louis-Eugène Otis (1950). The author's purpose is not to discuss the problem of evolution on a scientific basis but merely to show, no matter what the final answer to evolution may be, that Thomism is able and is ready to accept whatever the progress of experimental sciences may teach us.

*Summa cosmologiae* by Reverend Frederic Saintonge, S.J., though a textbook, intends to give undergraduates more than just general information in regard to the relationship between the philosophy of nature and experimental sciences.

The Institut de Psychologie de Montréal is also concerned with the relationship between philosophical and experimental psychology. The purpose of the Institute is to give to scientific psychology a humanistic character, by making the psychologist acquainted with fundamental philosophical doctrine as well as with the various systems and ways of interpreting human behaviour. It intends to prepare the psychologist to interpret data accurately and to draw sound conclusions with regard to the various psychological theories. The Institut de Psychologie is an example of a valuable contribution to philosophy by the very

fact that it illustrates the proper relationship that should exist between philosophy and the sciences. The Reverend Noël Mailoux, director of this institute, has pointed out the crucial problem which has arisen because of the pleas that have been made for the recognition of a so-called "psychological morality." He wrote:

It has become a commonplace statement that, while moralists are dealing with a concept of human nature, abstract and idealized to the point of neglecting the contingent vicissitudes and the subjective variations of moral conduct, the scientists are concentrating on the concrete evolution of the living man who is daily struggling to grasp an elusive ideal.<sup>2</sup>

Whatever knowledge has been accumulated by experimental psychology cannot be discarded a priori. On the other hand,

anyone who is familiar with the extremely refined description of the efficacious functioning of free will, either in the actual exercising of a specific choice or in the habitual exercising of moral virtues, as it is proposed in the *Summa* of Aquinas, can only deplore that such a wealth of knowledge about the possible developments of human nature is so frequently and lightly ignored.<sup>3</sup>

Father Mailloux has published many articles in European as well as in Canadian and American journals. Two publications of the Institute should be mentioned: *Les Testes différentiels de l'intelligence* (1954), a book by the Reverend Adrien Pinard, C.S.V., Gérard Barbeau, Claude Parent, and Monique Laurendeau, and *Contribution à l'étude des sciences de l'homme* (prepared by the Centre de Recherches des Relations Humaines). Two issues of the latter have been published; a third one is soon to be published.

In the area of psychological research is also to be mentioned the recent book of Henri Gratton, O.M.I., professor at the University of Ottawa, *Psychanalistes d'hier et d'aujourd'hui* (1955).

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings of the Catholic Theological Society of America*, 1954, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, VII (1953), 2, 3.

This book is a valuable introduction to psychoanalysis. The first part is a synoptic view of trends in psychoanalysis; the rest of the book discusses the therapeutic and scientific meaning of psychoanalysis together with its philosophical basis.

Contributions made by French-Canadian philosophers in the field of philosophical politics are of particular value. The Reverend Louis Lachance, O.P., has published the following works: *Le Concept de droit selon Aristote et S. Thomas* (1933), *Nationalisme et religion* (1936), and *L'Humanisme politique de S. Thomas* (1939). The latter revives the question of the relationship between society and man. Jacques Maritain and others in discussing this problem have made a distinction between man as an "individual" and man as a "person." Father Lachance does not believe that such a distinction should be made. He says that no such antithesis exists between man as a member of society in search of material goods and spiritual man in search of a supernatural goal. Man both as an individual and at the same time as a person is indeed a member of society, but some of his capacities must be subordinated to a higher good, so that in developing his own personality more fully he may contribute to social life what is required of him, and of society taken together, by the common good. Father Lachance follows the teaching of St. Thomas closely throughout this discussion. His book has been considered a valuable contribution to a sound understanding of political philosophy.

While De Koninck's chief interest is in the field of philosophy of science, *La primauté du bien commun* (1943) is a challenge to the personalists who maintain that Aristotle's dictum, viz., *The common good is more divine*, does not apply to the good of the family (H. Doms), or to political society (W. Farrell and M. Adler), or at least not to the divine good in the supernatural order (J. Maritain). Although his study has practical implications, it is primarily theoretical, having to do with definitions and divisions.

Whereas a common good is one that is communicable to many—like the truths of science, or life as it can be led in the body politic—a proper good is one belonging to a single person, one which is alien to that of another. De Koninck contends that the personalist's denial of Aristotle's dictum leads to anarchy, each party regarding the common good as a kind of alienation. Hence the collectivist rejection of political society as an ideal.

But De Koninck's main concern is with the theological implications of personalism, if it is to imply that, above all in the supernatural order, the personal good enjoys the primacy and that God is no more than incidentally a common good, i.e., inasmuch as there happen to be many created persons. This, he holds, is a denial of God's transcendence, Who, with regard to each and all creatures, is in the nature of whole to part. Personalism, thus applied, destroys the very reason why we cannot love God without loving neighbor. De Koninck stresses the distinction between a person's possessing a good and possessing it as a personal good. He contends that Aristotle's dictum applies to the comprehensor as well as to the wayfarer and that the personalist position would alter the Christian's attitude towards political society as well as towards the Church in a most radical fashion. He traces the evolution of this emancipation of the human person from the Renaissance on to the nihilistic humanism of Karl Marx. For the same reason De Koninck stresses again the necessity of knowing the philosophies which are the negation of our own. He did this particularly in his contribution to the *Rapport de la commission d'enquête sur l'avancement des arts, lettres et sciences au Canada* and at the Laval meeting of the National Conference of Canadian Universities. De Koninck's book is a good example of the scholastic manner of discussing contemporary questions. It makes evident the necessity for using universal principles for solving problems presented by the confusing political picture of our day.

A recently published book particularly concerned with the

definition of civil society is *L'Ordre social* by Michel Doran, O.P. (1955). Without attempting to describe any of the forms of existing societies, Doran gives a definition of society itself and then describes the elements which will ensure a social order in which man will be able to obtain welfare, security, and happiness.

Jacques Croteau, O.M.I., of the University of Ottawa, has recently published *Les Fondements thomistes du personnalisme de Maritain* (1955). Croteau renews the discussion of the distinction between man as an "individual" and man as a "person." The point of the discussion in this work is not Maritain's personalism but rather the opposition between man as an "individual" and man as a "person" used in proving the validity of this personalism. Croteau does not dismiss Maritain's personalism for its inconsistency with St. Thomas' doctrine. He demonstrates that St. Thomas' doctrine supports personalism, but that the philosophic basis for personalism is not to be sought in the opposition of man as an "individual" to man as a "person." The author holds that Maritain's personalism may be dissociated from the distinction between man as an "individual" and man as a "person" and still retain its thomistic character. Croteau's book is distinctive by its elimination of Maritain's distinction from the discussion, which throws into relief a personalism which may not be exactly the one supported by Maritain.

International questions have also been discussed from a philosophic point of view in Robert Bernier, S.J., *L'Autorité politique internationale et la souveraineté des états: Fondements philosophiques de l'ordre politique* (1951). The title indicates the problem the author discusses and the subtitle suggests the solution. The problem results from the relationship that exists between the states—states considered as the highest form of political order, endowed with sovereignty. What kind of authority would be able to solve the problems resulting from conflicts of interest between these states, as well as those arising from the prosecution of interests common to them all? Is this au-



thority to be constituted by agreement or by co-operation between the existing states? In Bernier's opinion this problem cannot be satisfactorily solved so long as political order is identified with the existing state, and so long as this kind of political order is considered as the highest. This identification might have been proper formerly when there were no such international relationships as exist today. Then any state could have solved its own political problems. The political order required by the common good of a society owed its sovereignty to the primacy of this common good. Nowadays one has to consider mankind as a whole with its goal the *universal* common good. The political order should be identified no longer with an actually constituted state. There is an ultimate political order required by a universal common good. The common good proper to a particular state requires in turn a relative political order, the latter being subordinated to the ultimate political order by the human activities which aim at a fuller progress for man. This work is an application of the traditional Aristotelean teaching on the pluralism of the political order to modern international problems. For this reason the book is another excellent example of contemporary philosophical thought.

The contribution of French Canadians to philosophy is naturally not limited to practical or logical topics. There are other works which should at least be mentioned. But because of their specialized character they do not fall within the scope of this article.

The books rapidly reviewed above have all been written by university men. Philosophical writings published by authors who do not belong to any of the French-Canadian universities are rather exceptional. Two philosophers, however, who are not on the faculties of any university have published books whose subject matter is indicated in the titles. Jacques Lavigne, in *L'inquiétude humaine* (1952), earnestly searches for the meaning of human life throughout its various stages; he is guided in his writing by the search for absolute values. André Dagenais, in

three books—*Vers un nouvel âge* (1949), *Restauration humaine* (1950), *Dieu et chrétienté* (1955)—is a spiritualist's interpretation of the world. The author discusses the reasons for the decline of the modern world and points the way to the recognition of divine authority as a principle of order. Dagenais is a good example of the eclectic philosopher who is inspired by the idea of the Absolute.

A survey of the contributions made by French-Canadian writers to philosophy would be incomplete unless mention were made of the many and extensive articles published in philosophical reviews. It would be beyond the scope of the present article to present the reader with a long list of these articles. However, a mere glance at the reviews quoted above will give one an idea of what the faculties of philosophy of Laval, Ottawa, and Montreal universities and the Jesuit Faculty of Philosophy at Montreal are doing.

The same can be said in regard to history of philosophy. A certain number of French-Canadian philosophers dealing with history have made valuable contributions of which nearly all are published in philosophical reviews. In 1936 an excellent book by P. Patrice Robert, O.F.M., on the "hylomorphism" of St. Bonaventure was published, *Hylémorphisme et devenir chez Saint Bonaventure*. The author discusses objectively hylomorphism according to St. Bonaventure and brings into relief the differences that exist between St. Bonaventure and St. Thomas on this subject.

The Institut d'Etudes Médiévales, founded in Ottawa by the Dominicans and transferred to Montreal in 1942, is concerned with publication of mediaeval manuscripts. At the same time the staff gives lectures on mediaeval philosophy to specialized students who intend to devote themselves to historical research. The Institute publishes *Etudes et recherches*.

Recently the Franciscans of Quebec started the Institut de Recherches Médiévales. The editing of mediaeval manuscripts is its specific concern. The Reverend Patrice Robert, the director

of this institute, and his assistant, the Reverend Edouard Parent, have already microfilmed many manuscripts of several European libraries. The *Répertoire des questions disputées*, by Monseigneur Glorieux, and the commentary of John Peckam on the *Book of Sentences* are soon to be published.

## *Education*

THE usual generalizations about life in Canada apply to education. The school systems of English-speaking provinces are very much like the school systems of the United States, but they have some characteristics which reflect Canada's British affiliation. The marked difference of education in French-speaking Canada illustrates Canadian acceptance of diversity, as does also, perhaps, the difference in status accorded denominational schools in various provinces. Changes in education related to social changes of the last two centuries have been introduced cautiously and somewhat belatedly in Canada as compared with the United States, but more rapidly in Canada than in England. On the whole, the rate and extent of such changes have been greater in the West of Canada than in the East. Trite as they are, these generalizations enable the non-Canadian reader to form a concise and reasonably accurate opinion of Canadian education.

A visitor from the United States would therefore find in most provinces of Canada educational institutions no less familiar than those of adjacent states in his own country. On both sides of the border the public schools are essentially schools of the people, built and maintained by local taxpayers, managed by local school boards, and attended by nearly all children of the community. As contrasted with secondary schools elsewhere,

the high schools of both countries for at least a century have been superimposed on the elementary schools to form one broad educational ladder. The provinces of Canada, like the states of the Union, are independent education authorities, whose prerogatives the respective federal governments are extremely careful to respect.

Yet a visitor from the Old World would find in Canadian education obvious marks of the religious and intellectual tradition from western Europe. Some of the elementary schools under public control give religious instruction, and some are denominational schools supported by provincial funds and usually by local taxes. In secondary and higher education rather heavy emphasis is placed on established academic disciplines, on protracted study of chosen subjects, and on examinations. The central authorities of the provinces, retaining control as a rule over high-school courses of study, textbooks, and supervision, have in most cases given only qualified approval to new content and method. In spite of the great increase in university enrolment after World War II, higher education is European to the extent of being somewhat more limited in Canada than in the United States, but whether because of higher examination standards or because of a slightly lower standard of living, it is hard to say.

Canadian education is diverse, although some are not aware to what extent. All Canadians would admit that the organization of schools in Quebec is entirely different from that of other provinces, including Newfoundland, which is also unique. Few would deny that in curriculum, methods, and objectives the traditional secondary schools of French-speaking, Roman Catholic Canada bear even less resemblance to the high schools of, say, British Columbia than differences of language and religion would lead one to expect. But some critics of the public-school systems in English-speaking provinces assume that the powers on paper of central authorities have reduced elementary and secondary education to dull uniformity. This assumption seems

grotesquely false to those whose work takes them into different classrooms and who find difficulty in generalizing about current practice.

The uneven assortment achieved by adopting and modifying new educational ideas from the United States and other ideas—not always old fashioned—from across the Atlantic, and also by refusing to reduce the diverse elements to a homogeneous, pseudo-original compound, is distinctly Canadian. A few in Canada are discontented because the form and structure of education, as of other aspects of Canadian culture, cannot aptly be described as *sui generis*; but most Canadians think that the process of education goes on in its own way quite well.

The following account of various aspects of education applies almost exclusively to English-speaking Canada. The article by Professor Wade on the culture of French Canada includes a description of education in Quebec.

### *The Central Authorities*

In all provinces except Quebec the central education authority, or department of education, is headed by a minister of education. As a member of the cabinet he stands or falls with his government. The minister of education is responsible for the policy of the department. This policy is subject to criticism by the opposition in the legislature and, if it provokes the ire of the people generally, it may be a major cause of a defeat of the government at the next election. But education is only one of several departments of provincial government, and the record of any administration is judged as a whole. Thus the democratic machinery gives the electorate some control over the provincial Department of Education, but not as direct a control as in states where boards or superintendents of education are elected as such. Although provincial educational policy is usually cautious, departments of education can and sometimes do act with the confidence of those in a secure position. There is nevertheless constant awareness of the weighted power of the rural

vote, with resultant conservatism in thought and parsimony in expenditures unless the rural taxpayer is the obvious beneficiary.

Educational policy also tends to be continuous. In actual practice the chief civil servant of the department of education—called in eight provinces the deputy minister of education—has considerable influence not only in determining how policy is to be carried out but even in the shaping of policy. The deputy minister and the numerous civil servants subordinate to him are secure in their positions regardless of changes in government. Politics may enter *sub rosa* in an indeterminate number of appointments and promotions, but hardly ever in dismissals, which for any cause are extremely rare. Although in smaller provinces several offices may be combined, officials immediately under the deputy minister commonly include chiefs of staff concerned with such matters as elementary-school supervision, secondary-school supervision, curriculum, teacher education, guidance, audio-visual education, vocational education, special education, health and physical education, and sometimes particular subjects such as music and art. These terms indicate some of the more important functions of central authorities, which will be dealt with in order below. In eastern and central Canada the English title "director" is often used for a senior position and the American title "superintendent" for an immediately subordinate position, but almost universally in the West and generally elsewhere the chiefs of staff are "superintendents." These variations in nomenclature apply to both central and local authorities.

Elementary-school supervision is ordinarily conducted by superintendents, inspectors, or supervisors who have qualifications set by the central authority, who are appointed and paid by the central authority, but who reside in the district or community where the schools under their supervision are located. They report to the central authority but work closely with the local board or boards. The trend in supervision from 1850 until recently was toward centralization. In the populous central province of Ontario the work was done at first by local super-

intendents with no stipulated qualifications, then by locally employed inspectors with provincially prescribed qualifications, and only after World War I by provincial civil servants. But now in cities it is becoming usual for the local board to take over the responsibility of supervision and to employ qualified superintendents and inspectors of its own.

Secondary-school supervision is ordinarily carried on by high-school inspectors employed by the central authority and residing in the capital city. There is a trend, however, toward local supervision of secondary schools also—either by the appointment of a resident inspector for a district by the provincial authority, or by the assumption of wider responsibility by local superintendents primarily concerned with elementary schools, or by the encouragement of high-school principals to engage more actively in supervision, or by a combination of these means. The greater emphasis on subject-matter divisions in secondary education has been reflected in the past by the appointment as inspectors or supervisors of subject-matter specialists, who would give particular attention to their own subjects. But even in a populous province it was possible only in a cycle of some years to have every subject receive such attention in every school. Geographical considerations almost inevitably win out over traditional distinctions in Canada. Hence the trend toward local and general supervision. Hence, also, it should be noted in passing, the distinction between elementary and secondary education is not as clear-cut as divisions within the central authorities might suggest. Tendencies toward unification or “levelling” will be apparent in the discussion below of many aspects of education.

Although the words “inspection” and “inspectors” have been retained in many parts of Canada, not much remains of the old concept of supervision in which an official vested with authority took and recorded the measure of a menial teacher. Supervision is increasingly a reciprocal process of encouragement and assistance among coworkers by an interchange of ideas and of the lessons of experience. The newer process has been brought into



sharper focus and given added strength in the last four years by a Canada-wide C.E.A.-Kellogg Project in Educational Leadership,<sup>1</sup> aimed at the improvement of education through more enlightened supervision.

Curricula were prescribed with precision by provincial authorities until quite recently. But teachers of elementary grades from the 1930's have been encouraged to omit or supplement topics to make the most of the pupils' interests and their own aptitudes. Shortly after, secondary schools were advised also to modify programs to meet local needs and, of course, to offer such optional subjects as their resources in staff made advisable. During and after World War II several provinces appointed directors of curricula, who try to keep closely in touch with local communities and who are constantly at work with committees of teachers and others on the revision of courses of study. Saskatchewan has been notably successful in getting active interest and participation in this way. About six years ago Ontario introduced a plan under which cities and other local communities might set up their own committees to draw up their own curricula for grades seven through ten; this resulted in widespread activity for a time, and many new courses of study were approved, although subsequently enthusiasm began to wane. Actually the provincially prescribed programs of study are not seriously restrictive, since the more original and imaginative teachers may all but disregard them and since most of the others are better satisfied to have their duties clearly defined. Many Canadian educators suspect also that there is often more freedom for the teacher under the dictates of a tolerant central authority at a distance than under a local superintendent zealous for the success of a program "democratically" contrived. Yet increased responsibility of teachers for curriculum is necessary if new offerings adapted to changing needs are to be taught

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the activities of the Canadian Education Association (C.E.A.), described below.

effectively. Teachers can be counted on to be keen about what they themselves took years to learn or what they themselves have decided should be taught, but not about innovations imposed upon them.

The appointment of directors of curricula links elementary and secondary education administratively in the central authority. Preservice education of a professional character for the elementary-school teacher—still commonly called “teacher training”—is almost exclusively a function of the provincial authorities. The departments of education in most English-speaking provinces operate normal schools, or so-called teachers’ colleges, which usually give one year of professional training to entrants who have graduated from high school at the grade-twelve or grade-thirteen level. Courses are prescribed by the departments, and the instructors are civil servants appointed by the Minister of Education. Professional certificates, of course, are also issued by the departments.

During the present century, however, a year of professional training—chiefly for high-school teaching—has also been offered to graduates in arts or science at an increasing number of universities. The resources of universities for this purpose range from one-man departments under the faculty of arts to full-fledged faculties or colleges of education with ten, twenty, or thirty full-time instructors in preservice courses alone. The larger establishments are operated by the chief university of the respective provinces from Ontario westward in close association with the provincial department of education, which provides most or all of the money and exercises a correspondingly large measure of control. In eastern Canada the provincial departments play a similar role, but to varying degrees, since several universities in a province may engage in teacher education.

In 1945 a new pattern was set by the Faculty of Education of the University of Alberta, which took over the work of the normal schools, so that all teachers of the province received their

professional training at the university. A four-year course leading to a bachelor of education degree was set up for either elementary- or secondary-school teaching. The shortage of teachers then and since then made it necessary to grant elementary-school certificates after only one or two years of preservice training, so that most of those who make teaching a career complete the degree requirements in summer sessions. Similar four-year B.Ed. programs were set up recently by the University of Saskatchewan, by McGill University in Quebec, and by universities in Nova Scotia, also, in the fall of 1956, by the University of British Columbia, which will take over all teacher education in that province. The reader may wonder why the new undergraduate programs of teacher education do not lead to a bachelor of arts degree in education, as they usually do in the United States. The answer is that faculties of arts in Canada are reluctant, to put it mildly, to allow credit toward the traditional degree for professional courses and activities. In fact, the senates of many universities, including large universities in Ontario, would still regard with some horror any proposal to introduce an undergraduate bachelor of education degree, so that there is little likelihood as yet that the preservice training of elementary-school teachers will be taken over by universities everywhere.

In some or all of such relatively new fields of education as music, art, guidance, home economics, industrial arts, agriculture, audio-visual, vocational, auxiliary or special, correspondence, adult, health and physical education, and so on, the provincial departments of education offer special services and assistance. Examples are: giving advice to schools setting up guidance programs, sending out motion-picture films from a provincial depot and broadcasting series of educational programs, and assisting not only schools but local communities to organize recreational programs. In short, the activities of the central authorities are multifarious.

*The Local Authorities*

During the first half of the nineteenth century, when the population was sparse and predominantly rural, the people of local communities acquired the right to elect three trustees to operate a school—nearly always a single one-room school—with financial assistance from their respective colonial governments. This pioneer administrative pattern continued in the provinces after Confederation and, in areas still rural, up to World War II. Since then, however, administrative reorganization in most provinces has resulted either in the complete or partial abolition of trustees for the old school “sections” or in the transference of important powers of the old trustees to school boards over much larger areas. The new pattern is anything but uniform across the country, and the methods by which the change was introduced have been almost equally varied. In Alberta and British Columbia complete reorganization virtually at one swoop set up a comparatively small number of quite large new districts. In Saskatchewan fairly rapid reorganization of most of the province into equally large districts was accomplished over a period of years without denying the people locally a chance to object. Ontario has acted only with the consent of the people of the sections concerned and has been content to establish new units by no means as large as those of the western provinces. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick new county administrative units have taken over only financial responsibilities from local boards. The process of reorganization in British Columbia and Ontario eliminated existing small school boards and elsewhere drastically reduced their powers.

The chief purpose of this administrative reorganization was to give children in rural areas some approximation to the educational opportunities provided in the more prosperous urban communities. It is not surprising, therefore, that the reform of local administration was accompanied by a marked increase in the proportion of local school costs borne by most provinces—

from about 11 per cent to about 35 per cent between 1936 and 1950. In some provinces the poorest communities receive up to 90 per cent of their revenues for education from the provincial government. Yet this transfer of the financial burden, however necessary and from one point of view desirable, has caused some anxiety. It has been the tradition in Canada that the local community should pay for its schools with only limited help from the government, and, generally speaking, local interest in education has been associated with local financial responsibility. The most notable administrative victory in the history of public education was the establishment during the second third of the nineteenth century of local taxation for the support of free schools for all. This victory had to be won for the most part by persuading local communities to assume financial responsibility before compulsory legislation could be passed and enforced.

But Canada is now becoming predominantly urban, and cities still pay a large percentage of the cost of their schools, which have as a rule the best teachers and the best equipment. The replacement of numerous single-school boards by a school board for the city began before the middle of the nineteenth century, although the establishment of one city board for both elementary and secondary schools was often postponed until the present century and has not been accomplished in all cities yet. Urban boards of education have often moved in advance of provincial authorities in the improvement of education, whereas rural boards have had more often to be goaded or assisted by the provincial authorities. City school systems, for example, in the latter part of the nineteenth century introduced graded schools, kindergartens, and new subjects, and after World War II they took the initiative in restoring salaries of teachers and administrators to a level which made it possible to compete with other occupations in recruiting personnel for educational work.

The bewildering variety of local school boards, selected in different ways and with different functions, makes generalizations risky. But, on the whole, school boards build and maintain

schools, employ teachers, and in so doing must conform to the regulations of the provincial departments of education. Most school boards are elected *ad hoc*, although boards appointed by a municipal council elected for general purposes are also to be found—more often in the case of boards operating secondary schools only and always in the case of urban or county boards in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, where some members are appointed by the provincial governments. A bulwark of public education in Canada for a century has been the right of elected, *ad hoc* boards of education to set the amount of money required for the operation of schools and to obtain that amount from the municipal councils responsible for local taxation. The latter have frequently objected to the alleged extravagance of school boards, but to no avail, although they do have a check on capital expenditures. Among the relatively few violations of the normal pattern of local administration has been the setting up recently in some parts of Alberta of counties with municipal boards whose members after election are divided into two groups—one to look after general affairs and the other to look after schools. Whether the schools will suffer financially is not yet certain, but any such moves are opposed by most teachers and educators and by the organizations of parents and teachers known generally in Canada as associations of Home and School.

Important functions of central and local authorities may be summarized by mentioning a few recent trends and major issues. During the present century the grants of provincial authorities have been directed increasingly toward the equalization of educational opportunity and less than in the past as an incentive to improvement—a change in policy related not only to the growth of equalitarianism but also probably to concern for rural areas and the associated values of an older way of life, which in central Canada have had difficulty in competing successfully against the powerful forces of urbanization. In attempting to maintain a balance between the powers of the central and local authorities, the provinces have quite recently showed a

willingness to concede some control over such *interna* of education as curriculum and supervision; but at the same time the provinces have spent more money on, and have inevitably exerted restrictive control over, such *externa* as school buildings, a field in which local authorities formerly were not only left free but freely encouraged to excel their best previous efforts. Urban boards, a few of which are responsible for about as many schools as the government of a small province, give the appearance of becoming more independent of their provincial authorities. Larger areas of rural administration, with provincial assistance, have nevertheless brought marked improvements to rural education. On the whole, the trend is toward centralization but with a more lively and enlightened interest of parents and teachers as a compensating factor. Possibly one should add that independent control of local expenditures by elected *ad hoc* school boards is not likely to be as general as in the past and express the hope that a more intelligent electorate will protect education from adverse consequences.

### *School Organization*

In all provinces there are publicly controlled elementary and secondary schools enrolling pupils from grade one to the year of graduation from high school, which comes at grade eleven, twelve, or thirteen. Most elementary schools cover grades one to eight in Newfoundland, Ontario, and Saskatchewan and grades one to seven in Quebec. In other provinces elementary education in at least a considerable number of schools is carried to grade six and is followed by a junior high school or intermediate school organization for grades seven, eight, and nine. But there are many one-room rural schools, especially in the Maritime Provinces and in the Middle West, which attempt to cover the work of most if not all grades and in which the type of school organization existing in theory has no real significance. In large cities, especially in Ontario, the publicly controlled school system also includes kindergartens and, in a few

cases, junior kindergartens, so that some pupils attend school for fifteen years from age four-plus without repeating a grade. Urban children, of course, sometimes attend nursery schools at an even earlier age, but such schools are not operated as part of the public-school system.

Table 1. Enrolment in educational institutions of Canada, school year 1950-1951.\*

Provincially controlled schools	
Ordinary and technical day schools	2,393,438
Evening schools	124,093
Correspondence schools	21,538
Special schools	1,956
Teacher-training schools †	
Full time	10,311
Accelerated courses	1,192
Privately controlled schools	
Ordinary day schools	113,409
Business training schools	
Day classes	17,939
Evening classes	14,278
Universities and colleges	
Preparatory courses	29,359
Courses of university standard	93,495
Other courses at university	34,164
Indian schools and schools in the Territories	24,871
TOTAL	2,880,043
Population (June 1, 1951)	14,009,429

\* Summary of a table in the *Canada Year Book*, 1954, page 321

† Other than universities.

Pupils proceed from elementary schools to secondary schools without screening by selective examinations. In secondary school they have a choice between courses of academic or vocational bias. As a rule, and certainly in all but the largest cities, high schools of any considerable size are composite. The number of optional high-school courses varies with the size and type of community: in many places there is a choice only between



academic and commercial courses; in some there is a further choice of many technical courses. In rural high schools, which have been built in large numbers since World War II, the options regularly include an agricultural course. In places where courses with a vocational bias are available, something close to one-half of the pupils choose them, but the enrolment in such courses throughout the country is much less than the enrolment in academic courses because only the latter are offered in small schools and in many small communities.

In most provinces pupils graduating from high school leave as a rule at the end of grade eleven, although a few remain for an additional year to graduate with "senior matriculation" standing. In Ontario and British Columbia ordinary graduation comes at the end of grade twelve and the supplementary year is grade thirteen. The work of the final year (grade twelve or grade thirteen) is that of an academic junior college, since it enables the student to complete ordinary undergraduate courses at a university in three years; but the two levels of high-school graduation are based on long-established practice in England, not on the more recent development of junior colleges in the United States. In Ontario grade-thirteen standing is obligatory as a rule for entrance to universities, which require four years' attendance for an honours degree in arts or for an engineering degree, although they also offer courses of three years leading to a pass degree in arts. High-school vocational courses or general courses for students not intending to proceed to a university are completed in Canada with a high-school graduation diploma at the lower level—that is, at the end of grade eleven or twelve.

In addition to the ordinary elementary and secondary schools there are various other institutions within the public-school systems: normal schools, or teachers' colleges, already mentioned; a few technical institutes offering preparation for various occupations at a higher level than the secondary schools but with a more practical emphasis than university education; and special schools, chiefly for pupils handicapped in one way or

another. Of the second group mentioned, the Ryerson Institute of Technology at Toronto is an interesting example. Although it is relatively new and almost unique, its success makes it likely that more institutions of the kind will appear. Upward of fifteen hundred day students are enrolled in its dozen or so schools or departments, which offer courses in electronics, radio and television production, journalism, photography, dress design, institutional management, and so on, through a wide range. As a rule the courses are of three years' duration beyond the grade-twelve high-school graduation ordinarily required for admission.

*Table 2.* Enrolment by grades in provincially controlled schools of Canada, 1953-1954.\*

Grade XIII	11,183
" XII	45,042
" XI	71,864
" X	108,611
" IX	151,215
" VIII	181,305
" VII	233,070
" VI	268,110
" V	286,478
" IV	300,510
" III	322,099
" II	350,456
" I	375,934
Kindergarten	97,918
Auxiliary classes	9,411
TOTAL	2,823,206

\* Data in this and the following table are from the C.E.A. Information Service Report, No. 74, May 5, 1955. Note that the greater enrolment in lower grades is due largely to the higher birth rate in more recent years.

Altogether close to three million boys and girls are enrolled in the public elementary and secondary day schools of Canada. Attendance at school is generally compulsory by provincial law to fifteen or sixteen years of age and encouraged also by the federal government's family allowances, which are payable on behalf of older children only if they are attending school. The

average number of years of schooling for children throughout the country rose from about eight before World War I to about ten at the beginning of World War II. Since a majority of people in most urban and more populous areas take it as a matter of course that their children will continue at school until high-school graduation at least, it is apparent that equalitarian efforts have not raised the educational level in many rural and less prosperous districts to a commensurate level.

After World War II, however, a more immediate educational problem was to build new schools quickly enough to accommodate the rapidly increasing number of children, especially in city suburbs. Between 1945 and 1954 the number of children in the group five to nine years of age increased almost 50 per cent in Canada as a whole, by about 60 per cent in Ontario, and by more than 75 per cent in British Columbia. Even more serious than the building problem has been the difficulty of recruiting a sufficient number of teachers. The number of young people of an age to begin teaching is small in relation to the number of children to be taught, chiefly because of the low birth-rate twenty years ago and partly because of losses during World War II. During the war and in the prosperous period since, the demands and attractions of other occupations reduced still further the potential supply of teachers. At first only the elementary schools were seriously affected, but now the secondary schools also are in dire need of teachers. To meet the need, provincial departments of education have been obliged to issue letters of permission to unqualified persons and to offer short and inadequate courses of training as alternatives to regular courses. The result of the teacher shortage, on the whole, has been to increase the difference in quality of personnel available for schools in more remote and less prosperous areas and for schools in urban centres and other more attractive districts, since the latter keep skimming the cream and the former must take what is left.

*Table 3.* Numbers of pupils enrolled and of teachers employed in the provincially controlled schools of Canada, by provinces, 1953-1954.\*

<i>Province</i>	<i>Pupils</i>	<i>Teachers</i>
British Columbia	210,330	7,598
Alberta	201,420	7,455
Saskatchewan	173,871	7,466
Manitoba	145,222	5,560
Ontario	915,946	31,018
Quebec		
Catholic	714,187 (app.)	29,374
Protestant	87,155	3,219
New Brunswick	114,724	4,680
Nova Scotia	146,388	5,096
Prince Edward Island	21,599	798
Newfoundland	92,364	2,865
TOTALS	2,823,206	105,209

\* The data for some provinces are not exactly comparable with data from other provinces because of differences in practice, but the effect of these differences is slight.

### *Separate, or Denominational, Schools*

Of particular interest to educators in the United States is the status in Canada of what are known south of the border as parochial schools. The bare fact is that in several provinces of Canada schools of a denominational character are supported by public funds, provincially and locally. Needless to say, the practice is cherished by some as a privilege, if not as a right, to be preserved at all costs and extended if possible, and abhorred by others as a violation of the public-school principle and an administrative nuisance. Exchanges on the subject, however, have no more effect than the vociferations of fans at a baseball game. Existing separate school arrangements are as likely to be a permanent fixture in Canada as the major leagues in the United States. They are accepted by most Canadians as a handy subject for controversy and also as an inevitable if not essential condition under which to live and let live.

Early denominational schools in Canada were retained when state systems of education were created, partly because of the success of the French Canadians in keeping their identity after the British conquest. During the first part of the nineteenth century they were able to insist on schools of their own, schools closely associated with the Roman Catholic church. Consequently, when Lower Canada and Upper Canada were united in 1841 it was clear that most schools of the former province would still be Roman Catholic, and there was a correspondingly active demand from the majority in Upper Canada that the schools there be Protestant, at least to the degree that the Protestant Bible should be used in them. Also to be considered were the Roman Catholic minority in Upper Canada and the influential Protestant minority in Lower Canada. As a solution, the united government of the two provinces passed school legislation establishing a local option for religious minorities. This principle, that when the religious majority had established a school, the religious minority (Roman Catholic or Protestant) might disassociate itself from the majority in order to set up a school of its own, was retained in all subsequent school legislation of the two provinces.

Repeated controversies arose in Upper Canada before Confederation as the school system was expanded and the administrative organization was elaborated under the superintendency of Egerton Ryerson. The adoption of local taxation for the support of free schools led logically to the exemption of the Roman Catholic minorities who were taxed for their own separate schools. But there were many disputes regarding the limits of minority privileges, for example, regarding the number of children the dissentients had to have and within what area the children had to reside to make valid the claim for a separate school. In Lower Canada the Protestant minority also felt that it was at a disadvantage, although conditions were different in that province because the majority were in favour of confessional schools and denominational rights in education. If only for that

reason it is not surprising that the Protestant minority in Quebec, especially after Confederation, was given privileges on a par with those of the majority in school matters, whereas some restrictions or disabilities adverse to separate schools were retained in provinces where the majority favoured one public-school system unconnected with any church.

The separate school system was perpetuated in the Confederation agreement. Under the British North America Act control of education within the provinces was designated a prerogative of the respective provincial governments. There were political leaders then and later, including Roman Catholics, who would have preferred to have set no restriction on the autonomy of provincial education authorities. But the Quebec Protestants in particular were fearful of what might happen and were influential enough to obtain a constitutional guarantee. The B.N.A. Act therefore imposed a limit on the authority of the provinces over education—a proviso that educational rights of religions established by law in a province at the time of Confederation must be maintained.

Only the two central provinces, Quebec and Ontario, were immediately affected, since the Maritime Provinces had not established separate schools. But Manitoba, entering Confederation a few years later with a population largely Roman Catholic, kept a dual school system on the Quebec model in operation for twenty years. By then, however, the population was predominantly Protestant and the government succeeded in abolishing the separate school system, although not finally until their right to do so was upheld by the Privy Council in Great Britain and until a promise of interference by the federal government was negated by a general election. Two other western provinces entering Confederation in 1905 were not in a position to escape the operation of the B.N.A. proviso because in the Northwest Territories, of which they had been a part, the dual school system had undoubtedly been established by law. They did, however, win the substitution of a system of separate schools on

the Ontario model, which provides for only one central authority and leaves only the local authorities divided. British Columbia entered Confederation in 1871 without any legal provision for separate schools.

In Canada, now, as a result of the above developments, the three provinces of Ontario, Saskatchewan, and Alberta have separate school systems of the local type. Quebec has a central authority divided into Catholic and Protestant committees, which are virtually independent, and a division of local authorities as well, so that there are virtually two systems of public education in the province. In the older Maritime Provinces—New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island—there are no separate schools, but there are by tacit agreement publicly supported Roman Catholic schools. These are schools operated in the regular way by a local school board, except that the teachers, the reading textbooks, and certain religious observances, instruction, and insignia are definitely Roman Catholic, so that Roman Catholic children attend them and Protestant children attend other schools operated by the same board if the local population is sufficiently large and sufficiently divided in religious faith to make schools of the two types practicable. The plan appears to operate without much friction.

Newfoundland entered Confederation in 1950 with a system of schools which recalls arrangements in England before 1870 and suggests an educational development detached from the influence of continental North America. Grants are paid by the government to schools operated by various denominations, and there is neither local taxation for schools nor election of public school boards—the machinery by which people of local communities elsewhere took responsibility for operating schools for their children. The provincial Department of Education is headed by the usual minister and deputy minister of education, but under them are four superintendents representing the Church of England, the Roman Catholic church, the United Church of Canada, and the Salvation Army. There are local boards of edu-

cation whose members are appointed by the government on the recommendation of the appropriate superintendent. These boards manage schools which offer religious instruction and use reading textbooks designed or chosen as appropriate for their denomination. In addition to the denominations already mentioned, the Seventh-Day Adventists also operate provincially supported schools in Newfoundland. In some centres of mixed religious population there are Amalgamated schools for Protestants generally. Although these had only about one-fourteenth of the total school enrolment in 1954, they had prospects of increasing as new industries created conditions favourable to their establishment.

Religious instruction during school hours is given in all schools of Newfoundland and Quebec, in separate and other Roman Catholic schools elsewhere, and in the public elementary schools of Ontario. Religious exercises, including repetition of the Lord's Prayer and Bible reading without comment, are generally conducted in public, or Protestant public, schools. Nothing more on the subject can be stated briefly and accurately, and it is safer to add that this summary is not fully comprehensive or entirely free from the need for qualification.

Of the many controversial issues related to separate schools, two are particularly interesting. Is the right to establish and operate a separate school a privilege extended by law to a church, or to individuals who on religious grounds regard the public school of the local majority as unacceptable for their children? In Ontario the privilege rests with the individual, who, regardless of his religious affiliation, may or may not declare himself a separate-school supporter and may subsequently change his mind. In Quebec, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, however, the religious affiliation of the individual determines, or virtually determines, once and for all the type of school he will support. Should a share of taxes collected from corporations be given to denominational schools of a religious minority, and, if so, on what basis? In Quebec such taxes are divided in proportion to



the school enrolment or school population. In Saskatchewan and Alberta they may be divided in accordance with the religion of the shareholders if the necessary declaration and information is forthcoming from the company; failing that, they are divided in a ratio proportionate to the taxes paid for schools by individual public- and separate-school supporters. In Ontario corporations may request that their property be taxed for separate schools to a proportion not greater than that of shares held by Roman Catholics; if the corporation prefers to avoid the necessary trouble and expense of paying part of its taxes at the separate-school rate, which is usually higher than the public-school rate, the corporation is taxed only for public schools. No plan for the division of corporation taxes can be expected to give equal consideration to the rights of children, the property rights and preferences of shareholders, and the religious convictions of parents.

### *Universities*

In 1954-1955 universities in Canada enrolled upward of 65,000 full-time students, or slightly less than one in two hundred of the total population. This proportionate enrolment is higher than in years before World War II, lower than in postwar peak years when up to 43,000 veterans were in attendance, and much lower than is to be expected ten or twelve years from now when the recent and current high birth rate will have increased by 50 per cent the number of people of undergraduate age.

As in the United States, so in Canada the universities must therefore find the money for additional staff, buildings, and other facilities. The bulk of the money will likely have to be obtained from the provincial governments, most of which now give substantial grants. The federal government since 1951 has made available \$7,100,000 annually<sup>2</sup> for the provinces to divide among their universities, and all provinces except Quebec have accepted this assistance, which provides a little over one hundred

<sup>2</sup> The amount was doubled in 1957.

dollars per student. Fees have already been raised to the limit which seems desirable. Although scholarships and bursaries are provided in several ways, the provision for such assistance in Canada is not generous by comparison with other countries. It is possible, however, for young people to earn during the summer about half the money needed to pay their expenses as students during the academic year.

The largest university in Canada is the University of Toronto, which had a peak postwar enrolment of over 15,000 and a recent enrolment of well over 10,000. Four universities have from 5,000 to 10,000 students: the University of Montreal, Laval University and McGill University in the province of Quebec; and the University of British Columbia. Five universities have enrolments in the 2,000-to-5,000 range: the University of Alberta, the University of Saskatchewan, the University of Manitoba, and, in Ontario, Queen's University and the University of Western Ontario. Smaller universities with enrolments of 500 or more are: Memorial University in Newfoundland; Dalhousie, Acadia, and St. Francis Xavier universities in Nova Scotia; Mount Allison University and the University of New Brunswick, both in that province; and McMaster, Ottawa, and Assumption in Ontario.<sup>3</sup> The above list does not include fifteen or twenty smaller institutions, most of them denominational colleges affiliated in many cases to universities named, and a few of them professional schools. The National Conference of Canadian Universities has about thirty accredited member institutions.

Constant efforts are made to keep up undergraduate enrolment in the humanities, or at least in the liberal arts and pure science, by emphasis on the importance of liberal education, by fees lower than those charged in professional faculties, and by easier admission requirements. Of the undergraduate enrolment in universities with a thousand students or more in 1954-1955, about 48 per cent of the students were in arts and science, about

<sup>3</sup> The rapid increase in enrolment has already made these recent figures unrealistic.

18 per cent in applied science and engineering, about 8 per cent in medicine, about 6 per cent in commerce and business administration, about 4 per cent in law, about 4 per cent in education, and from 2 to 3 per cent in each of agriculture, household science, nursing, pharmacy, and theology, and smaller percentages in other faculties and departments.

A few miscellaneous facts may be of interest. Undergraduate enrolment, especially in arts, is relatively high in Quebec, as compared with Ontario, since the *collèges classiques* affiliated with the two French-language universities enable most of their students to attend classes close to home and to attain the baccalaureate at a comparatively early age. Postgraduate enrolment, relatively high in English-speaking Ontario as compared with Quebec, was slightly over 3,000 for the whole country, or less than 5 per cent of the total full-time enrolment in 1954-1955. In addition, of course, there is a heavy summer-school enrolment in graduate professional courses for teachers. Men outnumber women three to one as full-time university students at all levels, but the proportion of women has increased, notably in graduate courses.

### *Adult Education*

Provincial departments of education in nearly all provinces have organized divisions to encourage and assist the many voluntary agencies which engage in adult education of one kind or another. Many universities, also, have extension departments which provide instruction or leadership on request and some of which engage in a variety of activities. One institution which has attracted international attention is St. Francis Xavier University of Antigonish, Nova Scotia, which has been responsible for the setting up of numerous co-operatives among fishermen and others who were helped not only to improve their economic conditions but to acquire new intellectual interests as well. Nationally, the Canadian Association for Adult Education acts as a clearinghouse, assists in planning to avoid duplication of efforts,

publishes and distributes materials, engages in Canada-wide projects such as weekly radio programs and organized listening groups, and stimulates adult education in other ways. Education at this level is deliberately less structured than the more formal types of education, both in its content and in its administration, since initiative and interest would undoubtedly decline rapidly under close direction.

But in spite of all the excellent work that is done, a very large number of native-born Canadians never think of participating in organized adult education, except perhaps to attend an evening class for some specific purpose, vocational or recreational. Any such institutions as the Danish folk schools would attract only a few in Canada, and although some educators echo the enthusiasm of England's Sir Richard Livingstone for a resumption of general education after employment, the idea is foreign to Canada. Few of those who terminate their formal education prematurely do so in Canada because of insurmountable economic obstacles; where economic considerations are a factor, they are not likely to be the chief cause of withdrawal from school. Young people who go to work, especially in cities, prefer to pursue their own leisure interests—to read at discretion the literary offerings of the public library or the corner drugstore, to go to the movies or watch television when they will, and to do things or make things that interest them in the home. The most powerful influence over adult education is advertising, which anyone is free to disregard. Although mass entertainment seldom rises to the peaks which a few might prefer, the average level is rising in the various media, if one may judge by such objective evidence as the quality of popular motion pictures past and present or the amount of good music broadcast.

### *National and International Activities*

As in the United States, the federal government gives some assistance to public education through various departments and exerts some indirect influence on the work of the schools. For

example, the governments of both countries have given financial aid to vocational education from the time of World War I, and both offered generous educational benefits to veterans of World War II. The government of Canada, as might be expected, is also responsible for education in the extensive but sparsely populated northern territories beyond the provincial boundaries and for the education of Indians living in reserves. Although on a more limited scale than that of the New Deal, federal government assistance was offered during the depression of the 1930's to provide recreational and educational benefits for unemployed young people through a Dominion-Provincial Youth Training Programme. This was expanded and changed early in World War II into a War Emergency Programme, in which the Canadian government paid for training in technical skills given in schools of the provincial school systems. But there is one rather significant difference of organization from that in the United States.

There is in Canada no federal office of education. Statistical information about education is published by the Education Branch of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. But other functions of a federal office are performed by a voluntary inter-provincial agency, the Canadian Education Association, which is controlled and maintained by the provincial departments of education, with supplementary assistance from many local education authorities. The C.E.A. is a strong upholder of provincial prerogatives in education and acts only with the unanimous consent of the provincial authorities on matters of common interest. It collects and disseminates information and sponsors Canada-wide programs for the improvement of education through research, conferences, special committees, and the like.

There are several other education associations of a national character, including the Canadian Association for Adult Education and the National Conference of Canadian Universities already mentioned. The Canadian Federation of Home and School embraces the various provincial organizations, whose local as-

sociations have a total membership of 275,000. Similarly the Canadian School Trustees Association is representative of several provincial associations. Potentially most powerful is the Canadian Teachers' Federation, since most of its component provincial federations have "automatic membership"—an arrangement sanctioned by provincial laws to ensure that virtually all teachers in the public-school systems are fee-paying members. But the C.T.F. has been unable as yet to bring within its fold the Roman Catholic teachers of Quebec, and the strong independent position of several provincial federations which do belong makes co-operation more difficult to obtain.

Several departments of the federal government and agencies associated with the federal government do work of an educational character. Among the former are the departments of Agriculture, Citizenship and Immigration, Labour, National Health and Welfare, and Northern Affairs and National Resources. Examples of such work are the operation of experimental farms by the Department of Agriculture and the production of posters and other materials used in schools by a division of the Department of National Health and Welfare. The two chief agencies referred to are the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Film Board. The former produces radio and television broadcasts and has some control over independent commercial producers in these fields. In this way it has some responsibility for adult education—a responsibility which is more direct in its production of Farm Radio Forum and Citizens' Forum for the C.A.A.E. The CBC also produces National School Broadcasts and co-operates with provincial education authorities in producing other educational programs for elementary or secondary schools. The National Film Board has earned praise for its production of documentary films; it also works more or less closely with provincial departments of education in distributing films for school or adult education.

As for international activities, Canada contributes to UNESCO and sends delegations to its general assembly but has not set

up a national commission or any equivalent agency to handle UNESCO affairs within the country.<sup>4</sup> The provincial departments of education have not been overly enthusiastic about UNESCO, and two of them have given evidence of distrust at times on religious grounds; yet many Canadian educators have done much voluntary work, particularly in assisting visitors to Canada brought either by UNESCO and related organizations or from Commonwealth countries, under the Colombo Plan. Teacher exchange is carried on between Canada and Great Britain and between Canada and the United States. Since the last years of World War II there has been a voluntary Canada-United States Committee on Education, sponsored in Canada by the C.E.A., the C.T.F., and the N.C.C.U., which works unobtrusively but persistently to make education a force for strengthening the foundations of knowledge and understanding on which friendly relations between the two countries may depend at times of disagreement.

### *Views on Education*

As in the United States, sharp differences of opinion are expressed in Canada on the subject of education. A few of those who speak or write are aware of the ontological or epistemological assumptions which their assertions imply, and they may be classified as adherents to one of the major schools of educational thought conventionally recognized today. The strongest clearly defined group is Thomist, since close to half of the population are Roman Catholics, among whom the French-speaking Canadians form a distinct unit closely knit by language as well as religion. Leaders in Roman Catholic education are likely to be conscious of their educational philosophy. The same cannot be said of Protestant fundamentalists who would subscribe to the theocentric educational doctrines of Thomism, however violently they are opposed to Roman Catholic theology.

<sup>4</sup> There was promise early in 1957 that something would be done through the projected Canada Council.

With much less certainty one might identify exponents of other schools of thought. Protestants strongly attached to religious and moral values and some of the ardent supporters of the humanities as academic disciplines form a heterogeneous category of idealists. Other advocates of structured intellectual courses related to modern needs manifest the new realist's confidence in organized knowledge as having an existence and importance apart from the learner. The majority of those engaged in senior secondary and higher education would fit better in one of these two groups than elsewhere. Others, trying to find ways of doing all they can for a nonacademic majority of compulsory attendance age, are denounced as pragmatists by opponents who fear the undermining of criteria which have distinguished the superior from the inferior.

But ninety-nine out of a hundred teachers or administrators, excepting the professed Thomists, would be surprised to find themselves tagged with the label of any educational philosophy. While studying a course or a book on the subject, they are likely to be even more surprised at what they might logically be expected to believe. Only those who are detached from the operation of public elementary and secondary education in Canada expect practice to follow the consistent lines of thought so easily identified by theorists. What actually goes on in the classroom depends chiefly on the ability of the teacher and the exigencies of the situation, which include the potentialities, limitations, needs, and requirements of pupils, parents, other educational institutions, the local community, the provincial economy, and a score of other factors. Those actually engaged in teaching and administration cannot escape the operation of these forces. Others may ignore them, and their attempts to remodel the schools by contrary blasts of words fan the flames of controversy and keep interest in public education warm.

Even courses of study and other materials for teachers published by central authorities cannot be interpreted as expositions of any philosophical view or as precise guides to school practice.



Those who emphasize the importance of motivated pupil activity on the one hand, or of mastery of essential skills on the other, do so chiefly because they think most schools are more deficient in one respect than in the other, not necessarily because they attach higher value to what they emphasize.

Canadian education is therefore for the most part pragmatically directed and operated, although few of the operators are pragmatists in a metaphysical sense. This does not mean that teachers and administrators act without principles. They acquire or reinforce, in a service which touches the lives of all, the convictions appropriate to the democratic and equalitarian environment. A conference on administration or supervision will move in the direction of encouraging the co-operation of teachers. Discussion of curriculum will focus sooner or later on the difficulty of providing secondary education of value to the many who are least capable of deriving benefit. These inherent tendencies are, of course, infuriating to those who decry a so-called age of mediocrity or era of the common man.

Those engaged or interested in education have conflicting points of view by virtue of their respective positions. University professors, other than professors of education, could hardly do otherwise than emphasize the importance of scholarship and favour the enforcement of selective standards throughout the school system. Employers, anxious to pick out capable employees, may be counted on also to uphold traditional criteria; generally, they ask that elementary schools turn out pupils proficient in the three R's and accustomed to work hard under direction; and generally, in seeking university graduates as potential executives, they will pay their respects to any difficult course no matter how unrelated to their field of employment. Parents, and especially mothers, are usually pleased to find their children happier at school than they were and to have the school educate for living in the broadest sense. As might be expected, however, expenditure of time and taxes on "frills" and subjects not deemed "essential" is denounced periodically by other taxpayers, in-

cluding a considerable number of the minority who pay fees to have their children receive special privileges at private schools, which enrol about one in thirty of the total school population in English-speaking Canada. The above statements on alignment of interests are, of course, opinions; there is no statistical evidence on the subject.

There is objective evidence, however, which indicates that education in Canada is much better than it used to be. The typical elementary school teacher of 1955, as compared with the typical teacher of 1900, has had more than twice the amount of education above the elementary level. The average attendance of pupils is 60 per cent better now than at the beginning of the century. The attitude of pupils toward school, although not susceptible to numerical measurement, is obviously and unquestionably more favourable than in the past. The limited comparative evidence available on pupil achievement in tool subjects suggests that even by this narrow criterion the new curricula and methods introduced about twenty years ago have proved superior.<sup>5</sup>

### *Summary*

Canada makes it a little less easy for the average boy or girl to get more than ten years of schooling than does the United States and gives less assistance to superior students than does Great Britain. There is a rather wide range in the quality of schools and universities, but the difference does not stem directly from variations in educational theory. Similarly, there are efficient and inefficient schools in each of the ten educationally autonomous provinces. Within the provinces, control of curriculum, textbooks, teacher education, and supervision is rather highly centralized, but with a less restrictive effect than might be imagined. Public elementary and secondary schools are essentially schools of the people in their local communities. It is

<sup>5</sup> H. R. Partlow, *Arithmetic and Reading Yesterday and Today* (Toronto: Copp Clark Co., 1955).

generally recognized that "as is the teacher, so is the school," and the one great problem is to recruit and educate a sufficient number of capable young people as teachers. Tradition is strong enough in Canada to have a moderating effect, but the characteristics of education at the compulsory attendance level are largely determined by the teacher's ability to cope with or make the most of the environment here and now. As compared with the United States, Canada has fewer teachers with the education and audacity to venture far from the security of structured courses and to rely, except for brief excursions, on modern method. At the senior-secondary and higher-education levels, where mastery of content is the major criterion, Canadians have as much confidence as their southern neighbours. In brief, Canada educates its young people to be cautious Americans and venture-some Europeans. Is this the golden mean?

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## Science

THE present great development of Canada gives it new interest, and since this burst of activity and growth is more dependent on science than on all other factors, science in Canada deserves description. Yet this is difficult because there is no Canadian science. Unlike Germany and Russia, where determined (but unsuccessful) attempts were made to establish a distinct ideological science, and unlike Great Britain and the United States, which once were plagued by the evolution controversy, Canada has never had influential advocates of any peculiar kind of science nor has there ever been any interference with the peaceful growth of science as a universal subject.

Canada is still a young country, and in pioneer communities science is not indigenous. Its introduction was late and its progress was slow for some time because settlers were fully occupied in making a living. In early times scientific exploration was done by visitors, scientific education was elementary, and scientific work consisted largely of applications of knowledge in the fields of agriculture and engineering. University scientists came from overseas or had their advanced training abroad, and many natives, so trained, did not return.

From this background there has been a great development, but, largely because of this background, it is thoroughly recog-

nized in Canada that science is universal and that what is done here is intermeshed in almost infinite ways with what is done elsewhere. All Canadian scientists have intimate associations with their colleagues in other countries, especially the United States, and many of them were trained in American and British graduate schools. We cannot therefore speak of Canadian science; we can deal only with science in Canada and with Canadian scientists.

In order to understand the status of science in Canada one needs to know a little of its history and of the ethnic composition of its people. One should bear in mind also that it is still a young country from the aspect of natural resources and that all its citizens are conscious of the frontier. Nevertheless, urbanization has gone far and its progress today is the most striking feature of the country.

French-speaking Canadians make up nearly a third of the population of over 16,000,000, and although they are concentrated in Quebec they are numerous in all other provinces except British Columbia. Their education in and attitude toward science requires special treatment. Slightly less than half of all Canadians are of British stock, but their influence has been predominant outside of Quebec. About one-fifth are of continental European origin (excepting France). With rare exceptions of outstanding foreign-born scientists, their influence in science is merged with that of the general population. The aborigines make up about 1 per cent and are quite negligible in the field of science. English-speaking Canadians present the fairly uniform way of life characteristic of all provinces except Quebec, they are spread across most of the country, and they comprise more than two-thirds of the total.

This way of life, with its approval of the British connection, was formed fundamentally by the displaced persons who came to eastern Canada after the war which established the new republic to the south, and they brought with them their British political sentiments and also their American accent and Ameri-

can ways. In effect they colonized the West. These facts should be borne in mind when considering the education of scientists because both British and American influences can be plainly seen. There is also, of course, more recent American influence, brought about by proximity and similar conditions.

### History

The early days of pioneer settlement were not appropriate for the development of scientists, nor were scientists likely to come to a country in this stage. Such scientific work as was done in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was associated with exploration. There was great interest then in newly found plants and animals. The most notable figure in those days was Michel Sarrazin (1659-1734), who was sent out as a physician in 1685 and reported to the Academy of Sciences in Paris on the beaver, muskrat, porcupine, ginseng, sugar maple, and blueberry, and he sent two hundred specimens of North American flora to the Jardin Royal. The pitcher plant (*Sarracenia purpurea*), so common in northern bogs, was named after him.

Another doctor, Jean-François Gaultier, who came to Canada in 1742, worked on the effects of weather on plants and reported annually on plant physiology to the French Academy. Our wintergreen (*Gaultheria procumbens*) was named after him. In 1749 a Finnish disciple of Linnaeus, Peter Kalm, visited Quebec and reported favourably on botanical work there, praising Gaultier and the patronage of science by the governor, the Marquis de la Galissonnière. He too is commemorated by a Canadian plant—the mountain laurel (*Kalmia angustifolia*). After the conquest of 1759 visits of scientists ceased, and science was not revived until a century had passed.

The revival came through the universities, which began to function in eastern Canada about a hundred years ago. They were all feeble at first, and science did not amount to much until about thirty years later. Graduate work, under a staff chiefly composed of Canadian professors trained abroad, was just devel-



oping in a very few institutions by 1914. Some scientists of this period deserve special mention.

Sir William Edmund Logan (1788-1875), the first director of the Canadian Geological Survey, was born in Montreal and educated there and in Edinburgh. An able geologist and geographer, he constructed the first geological map of eastern Canada. He retired in 1859. He was followed by Sir William Dawson (1820-1899), who was born in Pictou, Nova Scotia, and educated there and in Edinburgh. From his boyhood to his death he was an indefatigable worker in the geology of Canada, and his researches were of fundamental importance particularly in respect of fossil plants. He was principal of McGill University from 1855 to 1893, and he founded the Royal Society of Canada in 1882. He was elected president of both the British and the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

William Saunders (1836-1914) was born in England, came to Canada in 1848, and became the first director of experimental farms of the Dominion Department of Agriculture. He began the search for a suitable wheat for the prairie provinces and made crosses from whose progeny his famous son, Sir Charles Edward Saunders (1867-1937), selected and propagated a strain which he called Marquis. This wheat had a profound effect on the development of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta and was chiefly responsible for making Canada a great wheat-exporting country. Sir Charles was educated at the University of Toronto and the Johns Hopkins University and was appointed Dominion Cerealists in 1903. While he selected other wheats later, notably Prelude, Ruby, Reward, and Garnet, his selection of Marquis in 1904 was the most successful.

John Dearness (1852-1953) was born in Hamilton, Ontario, and, while well known throughout his long life as an educator in nature study, deserves notice here because he was the first Canadian to make a scientific study of fungi. His most noteworthy contribution was on the fungi of Manitoba.

Arthur Henry Reginald Buller (1874-1944) was a professor

of botany at the University of Manitoba. He is noted for his monumental *Researches on Fungi* but did more important work, perhaps, in training and inspiring a number of very able researchers on cereal rusts.

Frère Marie-Victorin (1885-1944) had a remarkable effect on botany in Quebec. He carried out profound studies on the flora of the Laurentian valley, attracted an able and devoted band of students, and obtained by persistent persuasion authority and funds for a magnificent botanical institute and botanic garden in Montreal. He was largely responsible for making botany more widely studied in Quebec than in any other province or state on this continent. His own work, while chiefly taxonomic, was closely related to other aspects of botany, particularly ecology and genetics.

Alexander Graham Bell (1847-1922) was born in Scotland and came to live in Brantford, Ontario, in 1870. Here he conceived the idea of the telephone, although the first experimental work was done in Boston. The first long-distance telephone transmission was between Brantford and Paris, Ontario. At his summer home in Nova Scotia, Bell was responsible for the first airplane flight in the British Empire (1909) and for the first fitting of pontoons to aircraft so that they could take off from and land on water. He was an inventor rather than a scientist, and he receives attention here because of the importance of his inventions and because of his associations with Canada.

Sir John Cunningham McLennan (1867-1935) was born in Ingersoll, Ontario, and educated at the University of Toronto and at Cambridge. He was on the staff in physics at the University of Toronto from 1892 to 1932 and did much to build up an eminent school of physics there. His most important work was in penetrating radiation, in spectroscopy, and in low temperature studies, especially with helium.

Ernest Rutherford (1871-1937), better known as Lord Rutherford of Nelson, was a professor of physics at McGill University from 1898 to 1907. His son-in-law, Professor R. H. Fowler, has

stated that, of his three professorships, this first, at McGill, "was concerned with unravelling the intricate phenomena of radio-active change and the chemistry of the radio-active elements. For this work Rutherford received the Nobel Prize." He himself said, "There is a saying that 'it is the first step that counts,' and it is clear that to McGill belongs whatever credit is due for the early ideas and experiments which opened up the way into the unknown." His influence on scientific research in Canada has been very great, not only by reason of his example but also, to some extent, because of his forthright attitude on the need for time and facilities for research. "No university," he said, "is worthy of the name that does not do everything in its power to promote original research in its laboratories. It is the duty of the university to see that its professors are not overburdened with routine teaching, but are given time for investigation and provided with the necessary funds for the purpose."

Henry Marshall Tory (1864-1947), although an eminent mathematical physicist, is famous as an administrator and as the founder of four institutions of higher learning: the University of British Columbia, the University of Alberta, Carleton College, and Khaki College (a school for veterans at the close of World War I). He is known as the virtual father of the National Research Council of Canada, was its president from 1923 to 1936, and was largely responsible for setting it on the way to its present position as much the greatest factor in Canada in the conducting and the supporting of scientific research.

Sir William Osler (1849-1919) was one of the greatest native Canadians. He was born and educated in Ontario and worked at the University of Toronto and McGill University. He did, however, spend much of his later life in the United States and Great Britain. He wrote many books, and nearly eight hundred of his addresses and articles have been published. His most famous book is *The Principles and Practice of Medicine*.

Sir Frederick Grant Banting (1891-1941) was born in Ontario, brought up on a farm, and educated in medicine at the University

of Toronto. He served as a medical officer in the Canadian army during World War I, when he was awarded the Military Cross for bravery under fire; afterwards he began a practice in London, Ontario. While he waited for patients who did not come, he read medical journals assiduously and adopted the idea that the islands of Langerhans in the pancreas produced a hormone the lack of which caused the disease sugar diabetes. He conceived a way of extracting this hormone and, in the face of great difficulties, succeeded. This hormone was named insulin, and the first extracts were administered in 1922. He was greatly assisted in this work by C. H. Best (b. 1899) and J. B. Collip (b. 1892). In 1923 the Banting and Best Fund was established in Toronto, and in 1930 the Banting Institute for medical research was opened in that city.

Thereafter Banting was a director of research, and, although not trained as a scientist, he showed great ability in co-ordinating work and in encouraging and bringing along young scientists. In 1938 he was appointed the first chairman of the Associated Committee on Medical Research of the National Research Council of Canada. He became much concerned with problems of speed and altitude. As a man of immense reputation and the recipient of innumerable honours, including the Nobel Prize, he became the symbol of medical research in Canada. His influence both on medical science and in the acquisition of financial support for it, has been very great. He was killed in an air crash in Newfoundland in 1941.

While a number of these eminent scientists of this older generation were active well after 1920, it may be said that the modern period of science in Canada began about that time. The war had brought about a great development of industrial activity and had shown plainly both the need for scientists in industry and for the prosecution of scientific research. Graduate work in the universities accelerated, and a larger number of Canadians went abroad to continue their studies. Opportunities for employment increased but not rapidly enough, for many scientists

had to leave their country, chiefly for the United States, and they have contributed notably to scientific progress there. To-day the demand for scientists in Canada is much greater than the supply.

### *The Provision of Scientists—Education*

In order to become scientists, young people must have motive, opportunity, and appropriate ability. The chief motives are curiosity, the wish to improve the lot of mankind, and the desire for gain. Opportunity is provided by the schools and colleges and by scholarships and employment. Ability is tested and developed by the educational system, and selection goes on through scholarship awards and offers of employment.

The first motive of the child is pure curiosity. His demands at first are simple, but they grow with knowledge and reflective thinking. Intellectual curiosity is the cause of the best and the most advanced scientific achievement, for it goes behind phenomena to the formulation of principles; and it is by the application of principles that practical science produces its results. The earliest scientists had this inspiration alone, and it will always be a great factor in all good work.

But other factors crept in and have become of increasing importance. On a high level there is the philosophical notion that our civilization may, through science, accomplish what no other could do: provide for all men time for contemplation and the pursuit of the arts. All previous civilization developed within a small group which was supported by the labour of many. Now, for the first time, through advances in agricultural and industrial technology and the production and products of machines, man may produce a society in which the machines are slaves and all men may be free. Associated with this is the wish to alleviate and prevent suffering and to prolong life.

On a lower level there is the solution of problems of production—how to make more blades of grass grow. This is what appeals to the public. Since the pursuit of science consumes

goods and services with ever-increasing voracity, its chief financial support is government, and that financial assistance is most readily obtained for scientific work with immediate practical results.

Nevertheless, it has been consistently recognized by those who hold the purse-strings that accomplishment in applied science depends upon progress in pure science and that education in pure science is therefore necessary. Realizing this, departments of government concerned with solutions of practical problems are to a considerable extent engaged, with official approval, in scientific research of a high order.

It is also recognized that the universities are the only source of scientists, and therefore governments have consistently supported institutions of higher learning and scientific research in them, although without attempting to exercise any control over them. This is an important fact about Canada. It is true that financial support has not been adequate and that all universities are greatly hampered by lack of funds. The point made here, however, is that the attitude of all responsible people toward science is benevolent and trusting.

Since the only source of scientists is the youth exposed to science teaching in the secondary schools who go on to concentrate in fields of science in universities, it would be well to have a look at this educational process. Through it the students are, or should be, stimulated, informed, trained, and screened so that college graduates are fitted and prepared to teach science, to work under direction, and also to proceed to graduate work. It is of the greatest importance, therefore, that the supply of young scientists should be adequate, both in quantity and quality.

The quantity is certainly inadequate now, and the prospects for the future are alarming. Canada is now in a phase of great industrial expansion, and there is a corresponding need for applied scientists (engineers). Even this need alone makes necessary a great development of facilities for teaching pure science and mathematics in the secondary schools, which are now filling

up as the result of a great increase in the birth rate since 1940 and of immigration, which since the war has exceeded 6 per cent of the population. During the 1930's the birth rate was the lowest in history, so that the present need for scientists and science teachers encounters a very low supply.

But that is not all. The number and proportion of science students has fallen, except in engineering. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics issues annual reports on undergraduate students in Canada, and from these the following table was compiled.

*Table 4. Full-time undergraduate enrolment at Canadian universities and colleges.*

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Honours work in pure science</i>	<i>Some sci- ence on general course</i>	<i>Agri- culture</i>	<i>Engi- neering</i>	<i>For- estry</i>	<i>Medi- cine</i>
As Reported							
Nov. 1, 1954	62,291	1,966	4,918	1,162	10,105	321	4,582
Nov. 1, 1955	71,600	1,283	4,722	1,299	11,735	327	4,538

These figures are not entirely accurate, especially as regards those students taking some science in a general course. Some institutions report some of these students in another category, and so they are not listed as studying science. In all cases these students are on a short course of three years. The amount and nature of science taken is variable. It should also be noted that some students change their courses and that a number fail to graduate.

Future scientists will come mainly from students registered in honours, and teachers of science should also come from them, although it is obvious that many will be recruited from outside. University students who will proceed to graduate work will not be many, for only 5.3 per cent of all graduates undertake advanced study. The supply today is much too small a proportion of all students.

Further light on this matter has been supplied by the National Research Council in giving the numbers of full-time graduate

students in Canadian universities in 1955-1956. There are 1,859 in the following categories: 205 in biology, 244 in chemistry, 142 in geology, 63 in geography, 75 in mathematics, 201 in physics, 144 in psychology, 188 in agriculture, 320 in engineering, and 277 in medical sciences. Thus it appears that a much larger proportion of students in science proceed to higher degrees than is the case with students of other subjects. This is true although many graduate students have come from abroad and will return to their home lands. Of all graduate students, 1,158 were to get their degrees in 1956 and 701 in 1957 or later, and so it is clear that the number of graduate students is falling.

A contrast with conditions in the United States is revealed by data from the last census (1951). At that time 7.3 per cent of the age group eighteen to twenty-one were going to college whereas about 30 per cent of this group in the United States do so. The proportion has increased since then but is still low. While the entrance requirements of Canadian universities are high and offerings are conservative, the point to be made is that there must certainly be very many young people in Canada who could become good scientists but who do not undertake the necessary course of action. Appropriate measures, if they could be taken promptly, would go far to correct the situation.

This evidence and the present great need for qualified teachers of science in the secondary schools (soon to become much greater), present an alarming picture. But again, that is not all. The United States has always been a magnet for Canadians and even today is attracting scientists among others by its wider opportunities and higher salaries. The Immigration Service of that country has reported that of 250,000 Canadians who entered as settlers since the war 30,000 were professional and semiprofessional and that in the academic year 1953-1954 more than 1,200 Canadians entered United States graduate schools. We know well that scientists must have made up a considerable proportion of these two categories and also that relatively few Canadians trained in American graduate schools return to Canada. (It is



true that in the past many have been prevented by lack of openings in Canada.)

Hitherto no thought has been given to directing students into science, of pointing out the needs of the nation and the attractions of this life. Choice has been completely free, and assistance in the way of bursaries, scholarships, and attempts to keep students' expenses low have been indiscriminate as regards subjects of study. As it is now, a good competence for the competent is assured; but students are not responding in anything like adequate numbers. Serious thought should be devoted to this problem.

The time is short because the children are coming along in school in great numbers, and many more qualified science teachers are needed in the schools already than are available. Pressure of numbers will become intolerable in existing universities and colleges before long. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics has predicted that the number of qualified applicants for admission will double by 1965 and may triple by 1972. This problem may have to be met by the creation of new universities and of a number of junior colleges. It would be difficult to arrange for the erection and equipping of many buildings in a short time, but, since education is a lengthy process, the procurement in time of the university professors that will be needed appears to be impossible. Under any circumstances, however, it will be necessary to educate in science all available competent students in order to meet the nation's need both of scientists and of teachers of science.

Education in Canada is under the exclusive control of the provinces, but university professors receive substantial grants-in-aid from federal funds for scientific projects, and many graduate students in science are awarded bursaries and fellowships from the same source. This matter will be dealt with later.

In the English-speaking provinces there is a remarkable degree of uniformity in curricula despite the fact that the education departments of the provinces are completely independent of the

national government and that the universities are independent of each other. The secondary-school course is commonly of five years and the university course of four for the degree of B.A. (or B.Sc.) with honours. There is a three-year general course but this is not for scientists or engineers. Some colleges and universities admit a student after four years' work in the secondary school and require five years for the honours degree.

Canadian scientists must have studied science throughout the five (or four) years of the secondary school. It is usual to begin with general science and in the last three years to study botany, chemistry, physics, and zoology as separate subjects. In general, the curriculum is heavily weighted in favour of chemistry and physics. The large amount of mathematics, with examinations in algebra, geometry, and trigonometry, is probably the strongest feature of the school system. The courses of study of the last year (thirteenth grade) are determined in consultation with professors of the subjects in universities of the province, and all examinations of this grade are set and examined under the control of a board, on which the universities have equal representation with the department of education. Examiners-in-chief are nearly always university professors, and they also prepare the papers.

These examinations, while written in local schools, are marked in the provincial capital. They all require writing at length, and so candidates must be proficient in the use of language. Of course they are trained for the examinations—and many teachers feel that this is not entirely desirable—but the uniformity obtained does ensure that what is considered by the board to be essential is learned. The standard reached is roughly equivalent to first-year college in the United States, but it is fair to say that, because of more practice, Canadian students at this stage write better than comparable Americans. It should be added here that the teaching in the secondary schools of what is college work in the United States makes still more urgent the maintenance of standards for teachers of science.

The honours course in pure science in the universities is the chief pathway for young scientists, although some continue in science after a course in engineering. Medical research is carried on mostly by doctors of medicine. The honours course is rather highly specialized, and it is not uncommon for a student to take almost two-thirds of his classwork in his major field, with about one-fifth in a minor, and the remainder in literary subjects. A student in Canada covers in his undergraduate years the fundamentals of practically the whole field of a science; he is commonly responsible for a syllabus; and he must pass comprehensive examinations at the end. The degree, B.A. (or B.Sc.), is awarded with designation of a class in honours.

As was said earlier, there is only one kind of science, but there is more than one way of teaching it and there are various places for emphasis and concentration. In Canada, in general, the university student is examined at the end of each session on all, or nearly all, of the work of the year, and his fitness to stay in honours work is determined. Ideally the work is progressive, although there is pressure to introduce more undergraduate courses—this would mean still more specialization at too early a stage—and to provide optional courses. Most scientists would probably agree that a sound undergraduate course based on a syllabus which all must follow is the best and that special or fringe subjects should be relegated to graduate work. The range of thinking of most scientists is based on their early training in the fundamentals. Chemistry and mathematics, for example, are very useful to biologists. It is not easy to attain ideals, however, and deviations in the universities are not surprising.

The teaching staff in science is predominantly Canadian, although there are a good many Britons and some Americans. Probably most of the younger instructors had their graduate training in Canada, although many were trained abroad, chiefly in the United States and Great Britain. In physics the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge has been the most common choice of Canadians. Thus in science there is an international flavour in

all departments, and this is a healthy factor, promoting efficiency and a world outlook.

The honours degree qualifies the holder, after a year at a college of education, to teach in the secondary schools as a specialist; and he may proceed directly into government service and industry. Second-class honours is required for admission to graduate schools in Canada. Because of experience with them, American graduate schools are very ready to accept Canadian students.

Graduate work, which in the old days was confined to a few universities, with only Toronto and McGill offering work for the doctorate, has spread into all universities and colleges so that now there is everywhere a great lack of space, equipment, and professorial time. To a considerable extent equipment is being supplied from government and other funds as grants-in-aid to individual professors. These grants also pay student assistants and so, in effect, increase the number of graduate students. Thus the teaching staff is kept very busy (too busy) all the year round.

Another change is greatly increased travel to scientific meetings both within Canada and abroad. There are Canadian societies in all branches of science. In addition, the Royal Society of Canada, which is modelled on the Royal Society of London, has flourishing science sections. Its meetings, together with those of other learned societies, are held annually in June. Fellowships in this society are awarded in recognition of achievement in research. Most Canadian scientists belong to American scientific organizations and attend their meetings.

These grants-in-aid and travel grants are chiefly responsible for the transformation of science in universities since the war. The staffs now have the equipment they need; student assistants become graduate students; travel keeps the staff in touch with work and colleagues elsewhere; and additional help by the National Research Council of Canada (which will be referred to later) makes possible the early publication of reports.

Something should be said about the nature of graduate work because it does differ from that in Great Britain and also from that in the United States. In general it may be said that it emphasizes problems rather than programs, although American influence in graduate work is increasing. Probably partly because facilities did not formerly permit a large offering of courses and partly because the British tradition was strong, the master's degree has been given great emphasis and most universities did not go beyond it until recently. For this degree some courses have been demanded, but the important requirement has been a research problem with a thesis which, in many cases, has been imposing and certainly as good as some Ph.D. theses in other countries. The tendency now is to increase the offering of graduate courses, and in some universities the master's degree is seldom taken.

The great increase in research and in graduate work should have been matched with a corresponding increase in staff, but serious limitations in university funds have kept many instructors about as busy teaching undergraduates as they were formerly and seriously restrict their time for graduate students and their own research. While improvement is being made, teaching loads are still heavy, especially in comparison with those in Great Britain; and scientists in universities look enviously at their colleagues in the great laboratories of the National Research Council.

The expense of obtaining a good scientific education is not great; anyone with ability, determination, good health, and no other financial obligations can afford it. The public schools, primary and secondary, are free; and university fees are not high because all receive government support. In all provinces except Quebec (where a special income tax supplies the equivalent) one dollar per head of the population in each province is supplied to universities from the federal treasury annually. In addition, provincial grants are very substantial and are made impartially to provincial universities, independent institutions, and to those under the control of religious sects. As a result,

fees do not vary much across the country. For a course in pure science the annual fee is about three hundred dollars, but there are exceptions. For applied science and medicine the fees are higher.

Good students, moreover, may look forward to receipt of Dominion-Provincial bursaries in case of need and may win scholarships of various amounts from various sources. Most students earn a substantial amount from employment in the summer vacation, which in Canada is about four months. Nevertheless, very many young people of ability do not go to college and the nation suffers a great loss thereby. Recognizing this fact, the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences recommended in 1951 that a liberal provision of scholarships should be made by the federal government. Unfortunately this action has not yet been taken.

The education of French-speaking people in Quebec differs greatly from that of English-speaking people everywhere in Canada, and it has been dealt with elsewhere in this book. The scientific training of French-speaking Canadians in Quebec, however, requires some attention. Until recently their secondary and higher education was literary and philosophical to such an extent that science, except that which was ancillary to medicine, was neglected. But as Quebec became industrialized, many engineers were needed, and these, perforce, were mostly English-speaking. In the federal service it was often impossible to man scientific posts with a fair share of French-speaking citizens.

This situation is being corrected rapidly in two ways: the school program has been changed and great faculties of science have been developed at Laval University and the University of Montreal. When new subjects are introduced into a full secondary-school program which has no options, other subjects must suffer. These changes therefore are not being made without friction and some delay. The public high schools were the first to respond, and they have been supplying more and more of the students in science and engineering. In 1953 Laval and the Uni-

versity of Montreal established a new Latin-science degree for university entrance. Some principals of classical colleges deplored this action and foretold a descent into materialism and worship of science. However that may be, the teaching of more and more science appears to be inevitable.

In the faculties of science of the French-language universities, work is taken in units, each homogeneous, with several instructors, involving one year's work and resulting in the award of a certificate to successful students. With three certificates in one, two, or three branches of science (including mathematics) the candidate is awarded the *license* which is said to correspond to a good B.Sc. in the United States. Graduate work is conducted much as it is elsewhere.

It is not possible for one without experience within this system of education to appraise it fully. It is obvious that these students must master the English language if they are to succeed in their professions. Some reading knowledge of languages is required of all graduate students everywhere, but it is quite a different matter to learn a language thoroughly after the age of twenty.

Dr. Pierre Dansereau, dean of the Faculty of Science, University of Montreal, has written of his faculty and that of Laval: "Their history shows that in the 1920's they were completely auxiliary to the professional schools; in the 1930's they developed a good deal of independent ground; in the 1940's they justified themselves entirely apart from services rendered to other faculties."<sup>1</sup>

It is a matter of common observation among English-speaking Canadian scientists that their bilingual colleagues are the equal of any scientists anywhere and that they have three qualities of great advantage in collaboration: their different background, their complete knowledge of French, and their unfailing courtesy and friendliness. As a group they set a fine example to all, for it is not easy to live as a member of a permanent minority.

<sup>1</sup> Personal communication.

*The Work of Scientists*

Research in pure science is being done in Canada in the universities, in government agencies and departments, and in the large business corporations, in that order. If, however, financial support were the consideration, governments would certainly come first, since they support universities and projects of individual professors and also provide scholarships.

Private industry has been laggard in developing research partly because industrial growth in Canada has been slow until recently but chiefly for the reason that most large firms are actually branches of companies whose headquarters and research divisions are in the United States. In 1939, at the outbreak of the last war, when the United States was neutral, this weakness was felt keenly. A number of corporations have now established imposing research laboratories which are engaged with problems involving fundamental investigation as well as with matters of application of knowledge. Moreover, some companies assist research in universities and provide scholarships in science. Support comes also from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, and other benevolent institutions.

All this is small indeed compared with the participation of governments in research. The departments of the federal and provincial governments are chiefly concerned with production, although government research councils undertake pure science for itself alone. By far the greatest of these is the National Research Council of Canada, which plays a part in this country much greater than that of any corresponding body elsewhere.

For this there are a number of reasons, among which may be mentioned the great size of the country, the variety within it, and its immature state of development. The National Research Council was established in 1917 when war-time needs were pressing. It immediately set up a system of grants and scholarships to aid universities and students. It appointed committees to co-ordinate research. It began laboratory work on its own



and in 1932 opened its first large building in Ottawa, which housed physics, engineering, biology, agriculture, chemistry, and research information. Later the mechanical engineering division was established.

The last war brought on a tenfold expansion. In 1940 a spontaneous gift of over a million dollars from a few public-spirited Canadians was made available to the National Research Council for war research. It came at a very opportune time, so that the results were out of all proportion to its size. This gift was later called the Sir Frederick Banting Fund. It supported very productive research in chemical and biological warfare, high-altitude physiology, radar, radio navigation, de-icing, antisubmarine devices, and the proximity fuse.

In 1945 the Council had more buildings than it had had scientists in 1939. Laboratories were established from coast to coast. In 1946 the Medical Research Division was set up, and the next year a Building Research Division and a Radio and Electrical Engineering Division. The prairie regional laboratory and the Atlantic regional laboratory have been opened. About five hundred scientists are employed, of whom nearly half have Ph.D.'s. The annual budget is approximately \$17,000,000, of which nearly one-seventh is applied to university work, where it furnishes grants-in-aid, bursaries, scholarships, fellowships, and postdoctoral fellowships.

The National Research Council publishes seven scientific journals which are a great help both to writers of scientific reports and to readers who work in the respective fields. They are *The Canadian Journals of: Biochemistry and Physiology, Botany, Chemistry, Microbiology, Physics, Technology, Zoology*. Over half of the articles come from the universities.

In addition there are offshoots of the Council which deal with atomic energy and are controlled by the federal government. These are the Atomic Energy Control Board and Atomic Energy of Canada, Ltd. Two heavy-water reactors are in operation at Chalk River, Ontario, 125 miles northwest of Ottawa. One of

these produces more than a hundred radioactive isotopes now in use in many universities, hospitals, and industries both in Canada and abroad.

A more powerful reactor to cost about \$50,000,000 is now being built and will be used in research in the production of commercial power. This goal is now in sight. As further aid, a fourth and smaller reactor is to be built to determine the extent to which various types of reactor fuels absorb neutrons. An atomic reactor is being given to India. It is expected that between ten fifteen reactors will be in operation in Canada in ten years' time. A nuclear power station is now being built near the Ottawa River by a private company; it will deliver 18,000 kilowatts and is expected to cost \$15,000,000.

Because of the nature of its work, the Chalk River station is of invaluable service in providing practical training with radioactive isotopes to graduate students who may then safely continue their studies at their respective universities. These studies range across the whole field of science and are being conducted notably in plant physiology (photosynthesis, respiration, use of fertilizers), entomology, aspects of medicine, and various applications in engineering.

There is also a great deal of scientific research by federal and provincial government departments, by the Defence Research Board, and by the Fisheries Research Board. In addition there are research councils or foundations in several of the provinces. These latter were set up with the primary objects of solving research problems for small industries on a contributory basis and of promoting efficient utilization of natural resources. They have all become involved in fundamental research and, in some instances, are also providing scholarships and grants-in-aid in a similar fashion to that of National Research Council.

The chief federal departments engaged in scientific research are: Agriculture, Northern Affairs and National Resources, Mines and Technical Surveys, National Health and Welfare, and National Defence. The Dominion observatories carry on re-

search in solar physics, astrophysics, seismology, terrestrial magnetism, and gravity. Altogether the federal government spent \$70,000,000 in support of nondefence research in the fiscal year 1954-1955.

Much of the work of the Defence Research Board is classified, but it is known that many of its activities are in fundamental pure science. The Board in 1955 employed 2,500 persons and spent more than \$52,000,000. In that year it opened a building costing \$1,500,000 at its station of a thousand square miles in Alberta. Along with much other equipment there is a two-million-electron-volt Van de Graaff generator.

The same comment concerning fundamental research should be made about the government departments. A perusal of annual reports shows that, while the objective is the successful application of science to a problem, it is commonly necessary to acquire new scientific knowledge. Tribute should be paid to those responsible for policy in that they do not restrict their employees to a close application to practical aspects.

Something should be said about the direction and co-ordination of research. The day of free individual enterprise is not over, fortunately, since the great discoveries come from the unfettered mind. Nevertheless much good results from teamwork, and able scientists may turn with enthusiasm to collaboration on a project whose objective appeals to them. War research with its remarkable achievements illustrates the point.

There is a good deal of co-ordination through consultation and through the judicious awards of grants-in-aid and special grants that are required to enable universities to acquire expensive equipment and installations for enterprises such as nuclear research in physics. If it is true that the Canadian temperament is more equable than that of other peoples on this continent, this temperament might account for the smoothness with which this co-ordination proceeds. Canadian scientists in the respective fields know each other well, and close acquaintance leads to friendship and understanding. Nevertheless it must be admitted

that there are occasions when some individuals long for the active intervention of omniscience, omnipotence, and perfect wisdom.

The work going on in the various fields of science presents a bewildering array, and the publications are so heterogeneous that no attempt will be made in the accounts below to describe them or their individual authors. Such a compilation would be useless, since the only interested parties have ready access now to pertinent information in their own fields. It is also an unwelcome and invidious task to select some living scientists for special attention.

French-speaking Canada deserves special mention since its scientific publications are, to a great extent, in French and do not receive the notice they deserve in the English-speaking world. A fair number of articles by French Canadians, however, appear in English and in French in various scientific journals of the world. There are forty-five scientific societies, some of which are concerned solely with pure science, and these are federated into the Association Canadienne Française pour l'Avancement des Sciences, which publishes a journal (*Annales de l'ACFAS*) and holds an annual convention.

### *Biology*

This field is considered here as including both botany and zoology but not medicine or agriculture. It has many branches, and active work is going on in all of them. Quebec is especially notable for botanical taxonomy with its related fields of ecology and genetics. Here and elsewhere in Canada, notably at Toronto and the University of British Columbia, animal population studies are actively conducted. Fundamental work on photosynthesis and respiration is going on at Queen's University in Kingston, where radiocarbon is used. Present activities are chiefly in biosynthesis of radioactive sugars, amino acids, enzymes, and vitamins. At the University of Saskatchewan important investigations on cytogenetics of wheat and wheat hybrids have been

made over a number of years and, more recently, on isotopes in fertilizers. Marine biology is studied in the Atlantic and Pacific provinces and at the University of Toronto. Notable work in fresh-water biology is being done at the Universities of Alberta, Montreal, Saskatchewan, and at Queen's. Entomology receives a great deal of attention in universities and in government departments and agencies, especially in its relation to agriculture, forestry, and life in the arctic. For the same reason, namely that many of them are pests, the fungi are studied throughout the country, chiefly in relation to agriculture and forestry. There is also a good deal of attention given to them for purely scientific interest, particularly in the University of Toronto and the Division of Botany, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa. Cytological work at McGill University should be mentioned.

In general, while activity and progress are great, biology in Canada follows the world pattern, and there is a dearth, as everywhere, of theoreticians. No great ideas have been formulated within recent years, and something in the nature of a philosophical concept is much to be desired. Of the making of bricks there is no end, but the new House of Biology still awaits a grand design.

### *Chemistry*

Chemistry is a required subject of study in all of the sciences and their applied fields from agriculture to zoology. Consequently there are more university instructors in this science than in any other, more graduate students, and more research. Progress has been great, especially recently, and is intimately related to advance in research wherever else in the world chemistry is studied. So great is the volume of work that even the more notable projects cannot be reported. Among the most important are the following: atomic free radical reactions, at the National Research Council, in which the president himself, Dr. E. W. R. Steacie (b. 1900), takes an active hand; much other important work there including chemistry of alkaloids; separation of

isotopes and the use of the mass spectrometer at McMaster University; physical chemistry and cellulose chemistry at the Pulp and Paper Research Institute of Canada (affiliated with McGill University); hydraulic cements and radioactive tracers at the University of Saskatchewan; carbohydrate chemistry and work on diarylsuccinamides at Queen's University.

There is also a good deal of chemical work in federal and provincial departments and their agencies. A number of private corporations now have research laboratories, and fundamental work of high quality is going on in a few of them.

### *Geology*

The earth sciences were begun in Canada as exploration, and this still, although with increasing refinement, is the chief concern of geologists. The country has been covered by prospectors to an extent that would astonish the learner in this subject, and discoveries have been subjected to elaborate study by experts who now are airborne to the site. Large-scale mapping of the north by the use of helicopters with magnetometers is proceeding rapidly; this work makes up a good part of the activities of the Geological Survey of Canada, which is a branch of the Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.

The Geological Survey has a staff of 270 employed in the pre-Cambrian, post-pre-Cambrian, stratigraphic, mineralogy, mineral deposits, and geophysics divisions. It operates research laboratories, awards postdoctorate fellowships, and sponsors the National Advisory Committee on Research in the Geological Sciences.

This committee co-ordinates research, indicates likely projects, and furnishes grants-in-aid to a modest extent. It is composed of the most active and productive senior geologists throughout the country and represents all fields of geology. It has recognized the present need for much more detailed and fundamental work to the end that hypotheses may be thoroughly investigated and primary concepts developed. Geology in Canada

is proceeding along this line, and work is aided by new techniques, some of which are of great complexity, requiring a deep knowledge of physics and chemistry, as well as collaboration.

Among the subjects of the more notable and productive undertakings are: trace elements by spectrographic and x-ray fluorescence methods at Queen's University, the Geological Survey, and McGill; radioactive ores at Queen's, the Geological Survey, and the University of Saskatchewan; impressive work with the mass spectrometer at McMaster University; geophysical (geological age) at the University of Toronto and the Geological Survey; physical chemistry of minerals and geochemical prospecting at McGill; geological thermometry and high-temperature synthesis of silicates at the University of Toronto; biogeochemistry, i.e., study of metals in plants as a means of detecting ore deposits, and paleontology, at the University of British Columbia.

Much work of a more practical nature is going on through the federal and provincial departments of mines and by private companies for their own benefit. Scientific work is involved, but these undertakings come more properly under applied science.

### *Mathematics*

This subject is mentioned here because its use is essential in all sciences, and some of them require new methods and knowledge in this field. In 1945 the Canadian Mathematical Congress was organized, obtaining financial aid from the National Research Council and some benevolent corporations. Since then there has been great progress in research. Two notable aids have been the summer seminars conducted by three outstanding men from abroad and the Summer Research Institute held for three months at Queen's University annually. Here Canadian mathematicians can get on with their own research, free from distractions, at a place where there is an adequate library.

*Physics*

Since 1945 physics has been brought more forcibly to the attention of the world than any other science, and with good reason. Since the days of Rutherford at McGill University most Canadian physicists have had postgraduate training at Cambridge. They were, therefore, fitted and prepared for what was to come; they were active in work having to do with the production of an atomic bomb from its inception, and they have been much concerned with atomic fission and fusion ever since.

Work on the nuclear chain reaction began in Canada in 1940 by and through the National Research Council, and in January 1943 an atomic-energy research project was started in Montreal. Canadian scientists, especially postgraduates of Queen's and Dalhousie universities who had specialized in nuclear physics, were engaged from wherever they could be found. Other universities contributing staff were McMaster and the universities of British Columbia and Saskatchewan. Meanwhile others were working intensively on radar. In January 1944 the building of a heavy water-uranium reactor was proposed. The first one, of very low power, started September 5, 1945. The large one was completed and brought into action in July 1947. It has run at powers of up to 40,000 kilowatts. Reference has already been made to it and to further work in that field.

All aspects of physics are being actively exploited in Canada, but the following projects are among the most notable: radioactive decay of neutrons and gamma rays of neutron capture in various elements at Chalk River; atomic and molecular spectroscopy at the National Research Council; low-temperature work (liquid helium) and the Raman effect at the University of Toronto; work with the cyclotron at McGill University, with the synchrotron at Queen's University, with the betatron at the University of Saskatchewan, and with the Van de Graaff generator at the University of British Columbia. (The latter accelerates positive ions through its potential difference of two



million volts.) These machines have been supplied as a result of planning by the Atomic Energy Control Board and with financial assistance. Other work in physics includes studies of cosmic rays at the University of Montreal and the National Research Council and of physics of the upper atmosphere at the University of Western Ontario and by the Defence Research Board.

### *Medical Research*<sup>2</sup>

The interest of man in his own welfare explains the great pace of medical research; and it is entirely natural and inevitable that matters affecting the prevention and treatment of disease should attract by far the greatest part of the attention devoted to the human body and its parasites. That is why the fundamental studies in anatomy, physiology, pathology, biochemistry, psychology (physiological), bacteriology, and virology are done in medical schools for the most part. These subjects, therefore, will be dealt with here along with those more strictly medical.

Most medical research is carried on in the twelve medical schools of Canada and in institutes affiliated with them. There are 273 students enrolled at Canadian universities for graduate degrees in medical sciences (1955-1956). Research is also done in the Federal Departments of National Health and Welfare, National Defence (Defence Research Board), and Veterans' Affairs, and, to some extent, in large hospitals without close associations.

It is impossible to ascertain the amount of money which goes into medical research. The universities supply a great deal, but this is entangled with the teaching program. The major part comes from dominion and provincial funds, from public subscriptions to numerous associations devoted to prevention and treatment

<sup>2</sup> The latter part of this section has been compiled from information received from Dr. G. H. Ettinger, dean of the Faculty of Medicine, Queen's University, but the author is responsible for the selection and presentation of material.

of particular diseases, from various benevolent foundations, and from pharmaceutical and other companies. While the sums granted are published, it is impossible, in most cases, to tell what fractions are devoted to research and what to welfare. A consideration of the items leads to the conclusion that, apart from the expenditures of universities, about \$3,500,000 of such grants were devoted to medical research in 1955. Awards by the National Research Council of \$670,000 and by the Defence Research Board of \$400,000 are noted here because they were almost exclusively for research. Cancer research was given \$500,000 from various sources.

Some attempt is made to distinguish between basic medical science, on the one hand, and clinical investigations and work on problems of national health, on the other. Thus the National Research Council supports mainly fundamental research, while the Department of National Health and Welfare is concerned more with applied medical science. As it is in the other sciences, solutions of practical problems may often involve basic principles, and so what is accomplished in any particular case is a measure of the qualities of the workers concerned.

An example of this point together with an illustration of medical research in Canada lies in the history of the Connaught Medical Research Laboratories, which are an integral part of the University of Toronto. When this institute opened in 1914, it began the production and was the sole source of tetanus antitoxin for the Canadian army in World War I. Through private benefactions and government support it expanded greatly. It was the first and is still a great supplier of insulin; it produced enormous quantities of dried human blood serum, penicillin, and, more recently, gamma globulin and poliomyelitis culture fluids. In 1953-1954 the laboratories provided over \$300,000 for research and improvement of methods and products; in that same year grants from outside sources brought over \$200,000 for the laboratories. The laboratories also received more than half a million dollars for poliomyelitis culture fluids. The latter

were developed during basic research on tissue cultures and proved to be what was needed in the preparation of the Salk vaccine. Production of Medium 199 rose to two hundred litres a week, which was used to make five thousand litres of culture fluids. This same medium was the source of another (808) which is very useful in cancer research. In the latter field important work is being done on the nature of virus infection.

This institute illustrates the development of research through pursuit of the objective of preparing substances for the prevention and treatment of disease. An example of another type is the Montreal Neurological Institute, which is part of McGill University. It contains a hospital and is the Canadian centre for the training of neuroanatomists, neurosurgeons, and neuropathologists. It has a well-deserved international reputation for training, research, and treatment. There are other institutes equally important in their own ways, but perhaps it would be best to continue this exposition by dealing with subjects of investigation.

Of the basic subjects—*anatomy, embryology, histology, and physiology*—little can be said in a brief report. They are well taught in all of the medical schools and, of course, are fundamental for all other aspects of medical research. Research in these fields is spontaneous since it receives neither public attention nor special support. Yet everywhere staff members are working with zeal and efficiency on problems of importance, although they are, so far as known, largely following up projects of current interest in the medical world at large. Two of these are cardiovascular conditions, studied in all medical schools, and histochemistry, notably at Queens and the universities of Montreal and Toronto. Pathology may be mentioned here too, particularly for work at McGill and the Universities of Montreal and Toronto.

Biochemistry in Canada is so much an ancillary subject to medicine that it will be considered here. Perhaps because of the work of Banting which brought about the establishment of the Banting and Best Fund and the Banting Institute, and, following

the results of the latter, the Charles H. Best Institute in 1954, the University of Toronto, to which these institutes belong, has been and is strong in biochemistry. The influence of the Toronto school may be discerned throughout Canadian universities. At Toronto, the National Research Council, Queen's University, and the universities of British Columbia and Western Ontario, notable work is proceeding on nucleic acids, while, at the last named, labelled compounds are being introduced into nucleotids. The universities of Toronto, Manitoba, Alberta, and British Columbia are strong in enzymology. Impressive work at Toronto on lipotropic factors has spread to Saskatchewan and Queen's, at which university investigation is progressing on acute massive necrosis of the liver in relation to dietary factors. Metabolism of red cells is being studied at McGill together with capillary fragility, coagulation, and blood storage. Total body fat is being investigated at the University of Montreal.

Psychology has two aspects: it is a social science and also an experimental science ancillary to medicine. It is only pertinent here as a medical science, but discussing it as such is difficult since most psychologists engaged in research of this kind are in universities where they are deeply involved in teaching and in social psychology as well. Some of the information which follows will apply to all psychology.

In this field, after modest growth at the beginning, there has been a marked increase both in quantity and quality. As with the other sciences, psychology was found during the last war to be useful, and it expanded greatly. The Canadian Psychological Association, founded in 1940, publishes the *Canadian Journal of Psychology*. Financial support in the form of research grants and contracts mostly comes from the National Research Council and the Defence Research Board, but it is impossible to state what fraction is for physiological psychology. It is clear that by far the larger part of these grants goes to McGill University and the University of Toronto. There have also been substantial grants from American sources.

The University of Toronto dominates the field in psychology, but there are strong departments at McGill University, the University of Montreal, and Laval University. There has been a change from the application of principles to the development of new methods for the increase of knowledge. This has led to a closer approach to neurophysiology. For example, cortical extirpation in the rat, followed by testing the rate of learning, has been used to localize areas in the brain.

In addition to this and other surgical work, which is going on at McGill and the universities of Alberta and Manitoba, other investigations to be noted are on muscle potentials correlated with psychological states; effects of electroconvulsive shocks on performance in rats; and interaction of genetic factors with environment during infancy in the rat. These have been carried on at McGill University, Queen's University, and elsewhere.

While psychology in Canada is growing, research in biological psychology is not yet comparable to that in the other sciences in Canada or with psychology in the United States. This is a matter of scarcity of workers and their lack of time and money.

In what may be considered the field of medical research proper there is a great deal of work, and significant contributions to knowledge are being made constantly. It is possible to single out here only a few instances in the various categories. Research on cancer is actively pursued in all medical schools. The circulatory system is receiving special attention as follows: anticoagulants at the University of Saskatchewan; atherosclerosis and hypertension at McGill, Queen's, and the universities of Western Ontario and British Columbia; hypothermia at the University of Toronto; surgery of heart and blood vessels at McGill and the universities of Toronto and Montreal and the Montreal Institute of Cardiology. The endocrine system is the subject of special study at McGill and the universities of Manitoba, Montreal, Toronto, and Western Ontario. Important work on the nervous system, particularly as regards epilepsy, is being done at the Montreal Neurological Institute; on functions and interrelations

of areas in the brain and brain stem and on neurophysiology and neurochemistry at McGill and the universities of Ottawa and Western Ontario; on mental health at the Department of Health, Nova Scotia, the Allan Memorial Institute (McGill), the universities of Toronto and British Columbia and the Regina General Hospital. Aspects of bacteriology and virology together with immunity and hypersensitivity are being studied at Dalhousie University (tuberculosis), the Institute of Microbiology, Montreal (tuberculosis, virology), the Connaught Medical Research Laboratories (tuberculosis, virology), the Sick Children's Hospital, Toronto (virology), McGill, Queen's, and the universities of Montreal, Toronto, and British Columbia. Notable results have been attained at the University of Montreal in the study of the relationship of stress to disease.

### *Agriculture, Engineering, and Forestry*

These are largely applied sciences and, as such, are not considered as coming within the scope of this chapter. As has been stated, however, the solution of a problem often involves strictly scientific research; and some attempt has been made to deal with such cases in the treatment of the various sciences. Some indication of the volume of advanced work in these fields is apparent from the following table compiled from data reported by the National Research Council.

*Table 5. Students registered in Canadian universities for graduate degrees.*

<i>Field</i>	<i>Doctor</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Pure science			
(including mathematics)	510	564	1,074
Medical sciences	128	149	277
Agriculture	53	135	188
Engineering	77	215	292
Forestry	8	20	28
	776	1,083	1,859

From this table it may be seen that nearly one-sixth of the candidates for the master's degree are in applied science. Be-

cause a good deal of research in pure science is done in faculties of applied science, it is not feasible to distinguish science from technology.

The most striking features of the remarkable growth of Canada in recent years are construction and industry, both dependent on engineering. These activities are so closely intermeshed with American enterprise that it is impossible to pick out Canadian contributions. It is well known, however, that all Canadian engineering students are engaged by employers well before their graduation and that the number of students in engineering is increasing much more rapidly than in any other faculty of universities.

Research in forestry is active in problems of forest regeneration, extraction and utilization, and fire prevention and control. The ideal of perpetual yield is being approached by scientific methods.

Scientific agriculture is well to the fore also. Reference has been made to work on wheat; as a result of that work, wheat is at present too plentiful for world markets. The agricultural colleges and the federal and provincial departments of agriculture have large staffs of scientific and technical workers throughout the country, and there is much activity in all branches of agriculture. Most of the work is in application of principles to local conditions, but an increasing amount is devoted to fundamental work, particularly in the federal department and the agricultural colleges.

### *Conclusion*

It is an ironical reflection that science, which gives an increasing understanding of nature and should thereby provide ever-widening and growing comfort and happiness, has actually attained its present imposing stature because of war. It is not that scientific research develops during the progress of a war. At such a time scientists are withdrawn from fundamental work and engaged in the application of known principles to new and

urgent problems. The point is that the need for scientists is appreciated then, and consequently much better provision is made for them afterwards. Then, when the fever subsides, long-range problems can be undertaken under favourable conditions.

Thus the first world conflict brought about the creation of the National Research Council with its massive assistance in the form of scholarships, grants-in-aid, and contributions to applied science. The imperative demands of the second war and its aftermath resulted in an enormous increase in pure and applied research and in the creation of an industrial nation.

The discovery of iron ore in the East, oil in the West, and uranium and other ores elsewhere came then to a nation prepared to exploit them, along with other resources, notably water power, which is now being used on a grand scale to produce aluminium from imported ore. Associated with water-power development in the St. Lawrence, the Seaway is being built amid general satisfaction that this old dream which has intrigued Canadians for so long is at last coming true.

Now in this nation which since its first settlement in 1608 has survived and progressed but not flourished, we see scientific development in full flood at long last. In its people of two cultures with their absorbed immigrants there is general recognition of the benefits which science has provided and a great confidence that, with continued effort toward the advancement of science, much greater progress will be achieved.

Across this great land the beneficent influence of science is everywhere apparent. Throughout the vast and lonely North with its dark spires of spruce fading out into muskeg and tundra, scientific methods are being applied to the extraction and treatment of forest products (the largest industry in Canada), the catch of fish and fur, and the mining of ores and of many metals. Massive installations of radar and other defence equipment are being made. Scientific problems of the arctic are being pursued.

In the southeast, a hundred and fifty years have seen the transformation of a vast hardwood forest with few and primitive



clearings into extensive farmland with the developing practice of scientific agriculture in crops, animals, and soil management. One should see this region preferably in early fall when colour enhances the view.

Here are the blue of roadside asters, the goldenrod, the trim fields with harvests garnered in, the apple orchards, the delicate shapes of elms and, ever so frequent, the rounded maples in scarlet and gold. Milk cattle, the product of scientific breeding and management, graze in green pastures, many with quiet streams shaded by bordering willows.

The central plains have endless fields of wheat and other cereals, all bred in Canada for productiveness, quality, and resistance to disease, and there is the new production of oil and gas and the increasing construction of pipe-lines. The Atlantic and Pacific provinces exploit timber, minerals, and fish and face the oceans with their great overseas trade.

The burgeoning cities, none far from the southern boundary, are hives of industry, heavy and light, producing a wealth of materials. Especially noteworthy are the newer products of science—plastics, fibres, and petrochemicals. Here are the universities, training youth to man and master the machines and processes of tomorrow and providing the environment for research.

Progress is the watchword and pure science the key to it. In close contact with coworkers elsewhere but with special concern for and focus on their own conditions, Canadian scientists are matching their brains and energies with stubborn nature, knowing well that effort is the price demanded for the treasures of life. The greatest need, as has been said, is for more good scientists.

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## The Culture of French Canada

FRENCH-CANADIAN culture is the most traditionalist in the New World, with the possible exception of that of Spanish America, and the most self-conscious. It traces its roots to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France, but as early as the first decades of the latter century French observers noted that a distinctive French-Canadian culture was developing. While the *habitant's* way of life was largely unaffected by the English conquest in 1760, that of the elite of clerics, seigneurs, professional men, and merchants was strongly influenced by the new alien ruling class. After 1789 French Canada was largely cut off from France until 1815, and the noble and clerical emigrés, who were the first Frenchmen admitted to Canada by the British since the conquest, instilled a horror of the French Revolution which left a lasting impression on the French-Canadian mind. A *filz de la révolution* still means a believer in the principles of 1789, not a Communist, in French Canada today. Not until the close of the Napoleonic wars could French Canada find cultural support in France, and post-Revolutionary France was then suspect and has remained so until recent years in most French-

Canadian eyes. While a few daring souls penetrated to Paris, the fount of French culture contaminated for the church by the ideas of 1789, 1830, 1848, 1871, and 1904, and returned with new notions, the great majority of French Canadians were forced to create a culture from their own resources. To a considerable extent it is a willed culture rather than one which has developed naturally.

Elsewhere I have defined French-Canadian culture as "an intricate amalgam of the French heritage, the North American environment, and Roman, British, and American influences."<sup>1</sup> Its unifying spirit is a "nationalism" which is really an intense provincialism complicated by religious and ethnic factors. It is almost impossible for a French Canadian to separate his Catholicism, his love of the French language, and his ethnic group consciousness. The three main elements of his culture interpenetrate each other and are fused together by an overriding preoccupation with *survivance*, the ceaseless struggle since the English conquest of a minority group to maintain its cultural identity against the conscious and unconscious pressures to conform to the way of life of a dominant majority of English-speaking North Americans, who very largely share a common culture. From the first it was a battle against great odds, for the 70,000 French Canadians and Acadians of 1763 were vastly outnumbered by 2,000,000 British North Americans, as today the 5,000,000 French-speaking Canadians are by some 12,000,000 English-speaking Canadians and 170,000,000 Americans. Hence French-Canadian culture is characterized by a defensiveness and a sense of loneliness and insecurity.

Before examining its present and prospective fruits, it would be well to consider the roots of French-Canadian culture. The Catholic Church plays a greater role in French Canada than it does anywhere else in the modern world. New France was a mission as well as a fur-trading enterprise, and the militant spirit of the Catholic Revival or Counter Reformation helped to shape

<sup>1</sup> Mason Wade, *The French-Canadians, 1760-1945* (New York, 1955).

the colony. From this period derive the Jansenism, a Catholic puritanism, which still haunts French-Canadian culture and distinguishes it sharply from that of France, as well as the evangelical spirit which sends so many French-Canadian missionaries abroad and characterizes so much cultural activity at home. In the early days of New France, when the curé or missionary might be the only educated man in an isolated settlement, the clergy took on many nonclerical functions in a frontier society which François de Montmorency-Laval, the first Bishop of Quebec, tried to make a theocracy. After the English conquest, when a significant number of the *Français-de-France* ruling class went home, the clergy assumed still other nonecclesiastical functions. All French Canadians are conscious of the great debt they owe to their clergy for ensuring cultural survival in the post-conquest period, though there is a growing group today who feel that this debt has been abundantly repaid and that the clergy should abandon many of their traditional activities, now that there are plenty of trained laymen available to fulfill these nonclerical functions. It has been said that today in Quebec there are only four outlooks: those of the clerical clerics, the anti-clerical clerics, the clerical laymen, and the anticlerical laymen. Anticlericalism is growing among both clerics and laymen, who feel that the clergy's intervention in secular affairs, while perhaps once necessary, is now outmoded and harmful. This sort of Catholic anticlericalism is typical of very Catholic countries; it means that the church is living and vital, rather than losing ground.

The North American heritage has affected the French Canadians in much the same way it affected the British colonists to the south. The French historian Charlevoix noted a spirit of liberty and independence unknown in France among the colonists early in the eighteenth century; by the closing days of the French regime the Comte de Bougainville observed, "It seems that we are of a different nation, even an enemy one." Today French Canadians resent any suggestion of cultural superiority



from French visitors as bitterly as nineteenth-century Americans did the patronizing observations of English travellers. Thanks to the freer atmosphere of the New World, the French Canadians are more democratic than the French, though they still cling to a crumbling social hierarchy which has no equivalent in English-speaking North America. The French Canadians are devoted to French culture, but they maintain that they alone have maintained its best and oldest classic and Christian traditions unsullied by France's revolutions, free-thinking, and godlessness. There is probably less sense of kinship between a French Canadian and a Frenchman than exists between an American and an Englishman.<sup>2</sup> One of the great postwar literary debates in French Canada was whether French-Canadian literature was autonomous or part of world French literature. The younger writers, like the New Englanders of the 1840's and 1850's, were almost all in favour of casting off an outworn cultural colonialism and writing as French Canadians rather than as Frenchmen.<sup>3</sup> French-Canadian French, in its popular forms, is as different from the French of France as colloquial American English is from Oxford English. Both exhibit less correctness, more careless enunciation, a certain unbridled freedom in adopting newly coined expressions, and far greater regional variations. On the other hand, both have a vigour and vitality sometimes lacking in the parent tongues.

Cut off from France by the conquest and the French revolutions of 1789, 1830, and 1848, French Canada fell back upon

<sup>2</sup> This is well illustrated by what befell the first official French representatives in Quebec after the establishment of the National Assembly at the close of the last world war. The first De Gaullist consul to arrive was violently disturbed by the free way in which French Canadians dissected France and its policies. He was soon replaced by another, who used to beam happily throughout an evening of similar discussion, and then observe, "Why do you tell me these things? As an Algerian, of course I feel the same way." The Quai d'Orsay has not lost its fine touch, and in the postwar period its cultural emissaries have studied rather than deplored French-Canadian differences.

<sup>3</sup> R. Charbonneau, *La France et nous* (Montreal, 1947).

Rome for enhancement. Omnipresent pictures of the Pope and papal flags in Quebec, as well as frequent visits to Rome when possible, reflect French-Canadian devotion to and dependence on the Holy See. Implicit in French-Canadian Catholicism is the notion that the ancient tradition of *gesta Dei per Francos* is now carried on by the French Canadians, who consider themselves a right-thinking spiritual island in the materialistic and godless "Anglo-Saxon" sea of North America. Catholics of other than French origins are surprised to find that in Quebec they are apt to be regarded as third-class or steerage passengers in the Catholic ship. From the early days of New France, outside observers have noted the French-Canadian devotion to religion, orthodoxy, and pious practices; some, like the Protestant Peter Kalm, added, "Unfortunately, religion seems to consist here only of external observances." It is well to remember that French-Canadian Catholicism derives from that of the court of Louis XIV; pomp and circumstance and great solemnity attend religious functions, and there is perhaps more emphasis on faith than good works.<sup>4</sup> Except in the great cities, a French Canadian cannot openly renounce Catholicism without virtually ceasing to be a French Canadian and becoming a social outcast. But beneath the monolithic surface of the church in French Canada are many divergencies, for the church is in fact far more democratic than it appears to the non-Catholic observer. The clergy is recruited from all levels of society, and a clerical career is an open road to the summit of French-Canadian society for those of faith and talent. Practically every French Canadian has relatives who are priests, nuns, and brothers, and has himself been educated in clerical institutions. In this family relationship there is much freedom of criticism between layman and cleric, as well as real respect for the devoted cleric.

One of the major differences of the French-Canadian world from that of most English-speaking North Americans is the

<sup>4</sup> In Montreal the annual French charity drive is rarely as successful as the English one.

broad extent of the social role of the church. From the earliest days of New France, education and the care of the sick and needy were included in the province of the church, whose missionaries also performed governmental functions as diplomatic agents on the frontiers and as financial agents in France. The Jesuits founded the educational system of French Canada in 1635 with a school at Quebec, which soon developed into a classical college with some of the attributes of a university. Laval, the first French-Canadian university, which received its royal and pontifical charters in 1852, traces its origin back to Bishop Laval's seminary of 1663. The Jesuits were also instrumental in bringing out from France in 1639 Mère Marie de l'Incarnation and her Ursuline nuns, whose school for Indian girls at Quebec was the humble beginning of a great tradition in the education of women in French Canada. They also brought the Augustinian Hospitalières, who founded the first hospital at Quebec in 1639 and who with other nursing orders now conduct most of the hospitals in French Canada. At Montreal, Blessed Marguerite Bourgeoys founded a school in 1658, and her Congrégation de Notre-Dame now conducts over 200 educational establishments in 29 dioceses. More than 70 religious orders for men and 150 for women now exist in French Canada, with a virtual monopoly of education, the care of the poor and the sick, as well as the usual concerns with preaching, contemplation, and scholarship.

The three orders most influential in the intellectual world are the Jesuits, who maintain the conservative tradition of the Counter Reformation; the Dominicans, who have been much influenced by the experience of France since 1904 and have taken the lead in progressive social thought as well in their traditional field of philosophy; and the Franciscans, who are particularly concerned with the working class. The Jesuit monthly review *Relations*, the quarterly *Revue dominicaine*, and the Franciscan bilingual quarterly *Culture* are among the

most influential periodicals in French Canada. One of the largest French-Canadian publishing houses, Les Editions Fides, is conducted by the Pères de Sainte-Croix, who until recently also directed a most successful theatrical company, Les Compagnons de Saint-Laurent. Concepts of the nature of the apostolate have broadened remarkably since the early days when Bishop Saint-Vallier condemned the production of the great plays of Corneille, Racine, and Molière by officers of the Quebec garrison, thus putting the theatre under a cloud in French Canada until recent years.

In Quebec separate primary (grades I-VII) and secondary (grades VIII-XII) schools are conducted by nuns, priests, and brothers for girls and boys. These are under the control of the provincial Department of Public Instruction, which has separate French Catholic and English Protestant administrations. Technical and trade schools are administered by the Provincial Secretariat, which is in effect a ministry of culture. Coeducation has recently developed in the universities, but has never penetrated into the classical colleges which are a distinctive major part of the French-Canadian educational system. The classical colleges, which are quite independent of the Department of Public Instruction (though the thirty-one leading ones receive an annual grant of \$25,000 apiece from the Provincial Secretariat), offer an eight-year course which is roughly equivalent to four years of high school and two to four years of undergraduate college work in the English-speaking educational system. Unlike the English system, however, the classical-college course is an integrated one leading to the *baccalauréat*, which is required for entrance into university work in letters, law, medicine, dentistry, philosophy, theology, and canon law and is frequently taken before engineering, pharmacy, architecture, and the social sciences. The course is centered on the humanities, Latin, Greek, English, French, ancient and Canadian history, mathematics, and philosophy. As a result of recent curriculum

revisions, both Latin and Greek are no longer required, while instruction in the natural sciences has been strengthened. All the classical colleges in Quebec are affiliated with either Laval University or the University of Montreal, whose examination programs they must meet, except for the recently founded Collège Stanislas for boys and the Collège Marie-de-France for girls, which are affiliated with the University of Paris. Most of the French classical colleges outside Quebec are affiliated with the bilingual University of Ottawa, with the exception of St. Boniface College (University of Manitoba); St. Joseph's University of Memramcook, New Brunswick; Université du Sacré-Coeur, Bathurst West, New Brunswick; and the Collège Sainte-Anne, Church Point, Nova Scotia. From the some twelve thousand students of the classical colleges is drawn the cultural elite of French Canada, which represents less than 2 per cent of the population.

Until recently those who could not devote eight years (from age twelve or thirteen to twenty or twenty-one) to the classical college course, at an annual cost of some \$250-\$350 for resident students (the great majority) or \$100 for day students, were virtually disbarred from the upper levels of French-Canadian society. The classical college students are recruited chiefly from the professional and business classes, though scholarships and other concessions to prospective priests make it possible for some individuals with slim or nonexistent financial resources to attain the key to the universities. The recent reforms now make it possible for a slow-developing student, or one forced to drop out of college for financial reasons, to complete his classical course at night school and thus gain access to professional training. The graduates of the classical colleges constitute a superior class with some disdain for the *primaires* who did not attempt the *baccalauréat* and for those many who failed to finish the course. There are also sharp social distinctions among the colleges themselves, with the Parisian-influenced Collège Stanislas rivalling the traditional prestige of the Jesuit Collège Sainte-Marie in

Montreal, and with the Seminary of Quebec the leader among the colleges associated with Laval.<sup>5</sup>

Most of the teachers in the classical colleges are clerics, since these private institutions generally cannot afford to hire laymen. Many of the teachers have done graduate work abroad at Paris, Rome, Fribourg, or Louvain. In the universities, which are generally administered by clerics (Laval by the Seminary of Quebec; Ottawa by the Oblates; and Montreal by a board of governors including the Archbishop of Montreal, four other clerics, and four laymen nominated by the provincial government), the number of lay professors is growing. They have been conducting a vigorous struggle in recent years against the tradition that the cloth was sufficient qualification to teach in either university or classical college, without advanced training in the subject. These lay professors have also taken an active role in the development of studies in the natural and social sciences, which were neglected before 1920. Many of the lay professors have studied abroad at English and American universities, as well as at French, Swiss, and Belgian ones, under Rhodes, Imperial Daughters of Empire, Royal Society of Canada, Canadian government, Guggenheim, Rockefeller, and Province of Quebec scholarships. Because French Canada was cut off from both France and Rome during World War II and the English universities were not then operating normally, there was a great increase in the number of graduate students going to English-Canadian and American universities, particularly in the sciences, sociology, history, and economics. As a result there has been a significant cross-fertilization of the French-Canadian academic world, and a breaking down of the traditional barriers between the French and English universities of North America. Laval and the University of Toronto now exchange professors, while Toronto and Montreal exchange student visits.

<sup>5</sup> For further details about the classical colleges, see W. Kirkconnell and A. S. P. Woodhouse, *The Humanities in Canada* (Ottawa, 1947), chs. v, vi, viii; *L'Organisation et les besoins de l'enseignement classique dans le Québec* (Montreal, 1954).

The classical college graduate generally has a better-rounded humanistic background than the arts or science graduate of an English-Canadian or American university. Most French-Canadian scientists, unlike their English-speaking colleagues, are knowledgeable about literature, art, and history. The classical college training is stronger in philosophy, in rhetoric, and in developing speaking ability than the conventional English-speaking education; its weaknesses are apt to lie in dependence upon manuals, dogmatic teaching in nondogmatic fields, and unfamiliarity with searching for the truth through conflicting sources. Its inadequacies of the past in the natural and social sciences are being rapidly remedied, and standards in these fields are now approaching those in equivalent English-speaking institutions. As a rule the younger French-Canadian scholar is now more at home in both Canadian cultures than his English-Canadian contemporary and is apt to be far more familiar with both European and American cultural traditions, since he is more frequently multilingual and does not have the same resistance to American cultural influences as the English Canadian, who is hard put to maintain his own cultural identity against pressures from both England and the United States. Cultural colonialism is far rarer in French Canada than in English Canada, since most French Canadians trace their North American roots back to the French regime, while the descendants of authentic United Empire Loyalists, who came to Canada as a result of the American Revolution, are a small minority of English Canadians, most of whom have much more recent connections with the Old World.

These circumstances have much to do with the livelier and more vital state of French-Canadian culture. Born in the first half of the eighteenth century, when Canadians first became distinct from Frenchmen, forced underground by the conquest which Anglicized much of the French-Canadian upper class, revived by the foundation of a political press in 1806 during the struggle for representative government against governors who

did not share Pitt's vision of self-governing colonies, French-Canadian culture found a firm historical base in François-Xavier Garneau's (1809-1866) great *Histoire du Canada* (1845-1848), which remains the classic French account of the French regime and the English regime up to the Union of Upper (Ontario) and Lower (Quebec) Canada in 1840. Garneau was a law clerk of humble ancestry who was spurred into writing his major work by the taunts of his English fellows during the great constitutional struggle of 1820-1837 between the Patriotes, the popular party led by Louis-Joseph Papineau, and the "chateau clique" of English bureaucrats and French-Canadian placemen. Visits to the United States, England, and France in the turbulent early 1830's made this young French Canadian a democrat in politics, with a strong faith in evolution rather than revolution; a romantic in literature, strongly under Lamartine's influence; and a Catholic of the liberal school of Lacordaire, Montalembert, and Monseigneur Dupanloup. He was a self-trained historian, much influenced by Guizot, Thierry, Montesquieu, Raynal, and Michelet. His work was permeated with the nationalism of the nineteenth century, and it gave a permanent nationalist cast to French-Canadian culture. His history was a daring book for its day; the French-Canadian ultramontanes, who were already reacting against the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 and preparing the way for the Holy War against liberalism which swept Quebec after 1870, found it "anti-Catholic and anti-Canadian" and gave Garneau, as he noted, "a terrible reputation with vestrymen and sextons." But the work won acclaim in Paris and in Boston and was praised by such men as Isidore Lebrun, Théodore Parie, Orestes Brownson, and Theodore Parker. As was to be true in French Canada for a century to come, approval abroad quieted alarm and ensured success at home. Garneau became a national hero, aided by a government grant, given a sinecure, and visited by visitors of note from abroad. Garneau's book laid down the doctrine of an essential relationship between "our language, our laws, and our customs," which became a French-Canadian article



of cultural faith. His history soon was regarded as the national bible, and as a result Garneau's preoccupation with ethnic and cultural revival, natural enough in the 1840's in the reaction to Lord Durham's *Report on Canada* urging assimilation of the French Canadians, still haunts the French-Canadian subconscious, long after survival has been assured.

Garneau's work, which had been foreshadowed by the shapeless chronicles of Michel Bibaud and the textbooks of François-Joseph Perrault, journalist teachers who sought to remedy the ignorance then prevailing in French Canada, inspired a host of disciples who carried on his work. The antiquarians Jacques Viger and Georges-Barthélemy Faribault amassed collections of historical materials which served such later historians as the Abbés J.-B. Ferland, Henri-Raymond Casgrain, H.-A. Verreault, and C.-H. Laverdière. Casgrain was the animator of this group, known as the Patriotic School of Quebec, who popularized, refined, or supported Garneau's work in their effort to "create," as Casgrain put it, a Canadian literature. The group met in the Quebec bookshop of the romantic poet Octave Crémazie, until bankruptcy forced this brilliant disciple of Victor Hugo to flee to France in 1862, where he continued to write penetrating comments on French-Canadian culture to his friend Casgrain until his death in 1879.<sup>6</sup> Other writers associated with the group were Philippe Aubert de Gaspé, whose *Anciens Canadiens* (Quebec, 1863) is a classic recollection of seigneurial life and the first collection of French-Canadian folklore, and Pierre Chauveau, whose novel *Charles Guérin* (1843) states the classic problem of the classical-college graduate:

In French Canada one must be doctor, priest, notary, or lawyer. Outside of these four professions it seems there is no salvation for the young educated French Canadian. If by chance one of us had an invincible distaste for all four; if it was too painful for him to save souls, mutilate bodies, or lose fortunes, there remained only one

<sup>6</sup> H.-R. Casgrain, ed., *Les Oeuvres complètes d'Octave Crémazie* (Montreal, 1882).

course for him to take if he were rich, and two if he were poor; to do nothing at all in the first case, to exile himself or to starve to death in the second.

Antoine Gérin-Lajoie had another answer to the problem in his thesis novel *Jean Rivard* (1862), which preaches a return to the land and the necessity of hard work and frugality guided by education. When he wrote in the 1860's and 1870's, a significant number of young men were already beginning to drift away from the exhausted farmlands of the St. Lawrence to the teeming mill towns of New England, where some two million French Canadians were to be virtually absorbed in the American melting pot by 1900. Gérin-Lajoie established a literary vein which was to be worked by many French-Canadian urban intellectuals after him, who insisted that the salvation of their people lay in colonizing new agricultural lands. This traditional remedy was unsuccessfully tried during the depression of the 1930's and again after World War II. *Jean Rivard* remains essential reading today for those who would understand the French-Canadian distrust of the new urban industrial civilization, which it cannot reconcile with its patriarchal rural tradition.

The turning of the intellectual energy of the French Canadians into other outlets than political activity, which had long been essential for group survival, was furthered by the official resumption of cultural relations with France, marked by the visit in 1855 of *La Capricieuse*, the first French warship to sail the St. Lawrence since the conquest. Louis Napoleon, whose North American imperialism was already beginning to bud, took advantage of the era of Anglo-French good feeling created by the Crimean War to open commercial and cultural relations with French Canada, sending a shipload of French books and pictures to endow the *Instituts Canadiens* of Quebec, Montreal, and Ottawa. These popular libraries and debating forums had been founded in the 1840's and 1850's as rival centres of French culture to the new Mechanic's Institutes established by English Canadians. The visit of *La Capricieuse* capped the gradual recon-

ciliation of French Canada with France which had been launched by the French romantic writers, whose books had been imported into French Canada since the opening of the century and whose work was often reprinted by the hard-pressed editors of struggling French-Canadian newspapers and magazines.

Both the American democratic ideas of Jefferson and Jackson and the republican doctrines of Louis Blanc were introduced into French Canada by the great popular leader Louis-Joseph Papineau in the 1830's and late 1840's and then driven underground for the rest of the century by the vigour of French Canada's reaction to the revolution of 1848, the commune of 1871, and the assaults on the temporal power of the papacy. The dominant conservatism was strengthened by the coming in the 1840's and 1850's of many religious teaching orders from France, among them the Jesuits, Oblates, Holy Cross Brothers and Fathers, the Christian Brothers, and the Clerks of St. Viator, all of whom were violently opposed to the new revolutionary ideas which were then sweeping western Europe. Right-thinking French Canadians tended to identify themselves with the doctrines of Louis Veuillot, the editor of *L'Univers*. The hierarchy in Quebec followed the course of Pope Pius IX in its gradual abandonment of the liberal ideas of the Patriotes of 1837 in favour of highly conservative ones. The archprophets of this intellectual reaction in Quebec were Bishop Ignace Bourget (1798-1885) of Montreal and Bishop L.-F.-R. Laflèche (1818-1898) of Trois-Rivières, whose excessive ultramontane zeal, which led them to intervene vigorously in provincial and federal politics, eventually had to be moderated by Rome. The "*Castor*"<sup>7</sup> tradition thus founded

<sup>7</sup> "*Castors*" ("beavers") was the nickname given to the ultramontane Catholic party of the 1880's which broke with the Conservative party. The Conservative leader Sir Adolphe Chapleau (1840-1898) denounced them in a memorable speech as "the ambitious mediocrities who cannot come to power in the ordinary ways, all the disappointed ones, and a good number of hypocrites who pretend to be religious and conservative in order better to ruin the Conservative party and to destroy among the people true religious spirit, whose fundamental basis is respect for authority and love of neighbor."

still exists in French Canada today, with a tendency to be more Roman than the Pope and more puritanical than the Puritans of Massachusetts in their heyday. Its strength now lies chiefly in the classical colleges, and most young French-Canadian intellectuals react against it while at the university, and espouse instead a political and social liberalism which has been orthodox in Quebec since Sir Wilfrid Laurier became the first French-Canadian prime minister of Canada in 1896, an office he was to hold until 1911.<sup>8</sup>

While the dominant literary school of 1860-1890 continued to hymn the French-Canadian past and the traditional French and Catholic values, the journalists Arthur Buies and L.-O. David gave literary expression to advanced *Rouge* ideas. In 1868 the maverick Buies, who had fought with Garibaldi's Redshirts while French Canada idolized its Papal Zouaves, launched a journal called *La Lanterne*, whose title echoed both the cry of the French Revolution and Diogenes' search for an honest man. In a series of short-lived journals he continued to wage relentless war on hypocrisy, a trait which he found richly illustrated by Conservative politicians and ultramontane clerics. He was far sighted, recognizing that Canada was becoming an industrial country, while his contemporaries continued to preach a return to a vanishing way of rural life. L.-O. David produced a series of biographies and literary sketches which showed an enthusiasm for the Patriotes of the Papineau Rebellion in 1837 and for liberal ideas rarely found in the work of the literary clerics and the clerical-minded lay writers of the period. The antiquarian Benjamin Sulte compiled his monographs into a *Histoire des canadiens français* (1882-1884) which took issue with much clerical historical writing. The most notable poet of the period, Louis Fréchette (1839-1908), started his career with *Rouge* ideas; because of them he was forced to take refuge in Chicago

<sup>8</sup> Laurier (1841-1919) gave the classic definition of French-Canadian liberalism in his notable speech on "Political Liberalism" at Quebec in 1877, in which he denounced the ultramontanes for "degrading religion to the simple proportions of a political party."

in 1866 for four years, where he published his annexationist *Voix d'un exilé*, before returning home to become the unofficial laureate of French Canada. His later traditional poems, on the theme of Canada's loyalty to the French tradition, were awarded a prize by the French Academy in 1880, and as a result he acquired immense prestige in Quebec. His best work, *La Légende d'un peuple*, was published in Paris in 1887 and dedicated to France. The literature of 1860-1900 reflected the slow awakening to intellectual maturity of a people who had long lingered in a semiprimitive cultural state. But so much intellectual energy was expended in the religio-political struggles of the period that there was little left for purely intellectual pursuits. A cultural colonialism was created by the renewal of close relations with France which favoured imitation rather than originality, with French-Canadian writers foredoomed to play second fiddle to writers of France. The preoccupation with religious and patriotic themes in the literature of this period reflects the fact that it was produced largely by members of the political and ecclesiastical elite, the only French Canadians who could afford to write when literature was an avocation rather than a profession.

The great political struggle between British imperialism and French-Canadian nationalism from the Boer War to World War I strengthened the cultural bonds between French Canada and France. Henri Bourassa and Olivar Asselin, the nationalist leaders, exploited the French heritage for political purposes, while in 1902 Monseigneur L.-A. Paquet, the great ecclesiastical orator of the day, gave a classic definition of "the vocation of the French Race in North America":

We are not only a civilized race, we are the pioneers of civilization; we are not only a religious people, we are the messengers of the religious idea; we are not only submissive sons of the Church, we are, we ought to be, numbered among its zealots, its defenders, and its apostles. Our mission is less to manipulate capital than to change ideas; it consists less in lighting the fires of factories than in main-

taining and making radiate afar the luminous fire of religion and thought.<sup>9</sup>

This messianic cultural nationalism, derived from Bossuet and De Maistre and expounded by the clergy of French Canada during the second half of the nineteenth century, affected the growth of French-Canadian culture for nearly another fifty years. French Canada steadily, though selectively, drew more cultural reinforcement from France, although there were those who rebelled against French cultural influences, as well as against English political ones and American economic ones as Quebec was gradually caught up in the North American industrial revolution. The fact that the industrial revolution was largely brought to French Canada by cultural aliens—Englishmen, English Canadians, or Americans—strengthened the anti-industrial bias of French-Canadian intellectuals, who saw their idealistic dream world threatened by a crassly materialistic one which seemed to endanger the very life of their culture.<sup>10</sup>

This new cultural identification with France was interrupted by the political reaction against the assumption of visiting French propagandists during World War I that French Canada was a cultural province of France which was not doing its part when the mother country was direly threatened. During much of the war the French Canadians were in fact much more concerned with the struggle of the Franco-Ontarians for French schools than with the conflict in Europe. As anti-imperialist North Americans of deep roots, they were relatively unmoved by calls to save either France or Britain from German aggression. The mounting tide of antiwar feeling culminated in riots in Montreal and Quebec in 1917-1918, when a federal government in which French Canada was scarcely represented invoked conscription.

<sup>9</sup> E. Chartier, ed., *Brévaire du patriote canadien-français* (Montreal, 1925).

<sup>10</sup> For the impact of industrialization see E. C. Hughes, *French Canada in Transition* (Chicago, 1943), and J.-C. Falardeau, ed., *Essays on Contemporary Quebec* (Quebec, 1953).

Until 1921 French Canada remained virtually isolated from the rest of Canada.

During this stormy period a purely French-Canadian nationalism developed under the leadership of the eloquent Abbé Lionel Groulx, the first native professor of history at the University of Montreal, which became independent of Laval in 1920. Bourassa's earlier true Canadian nationalism became a narrow provincialism and racism under Groulx's leadership of the Action Française group, which changed its name to Action Canadienne-Française after the papal condemnation of the French movement of the same name and was revived in 1933 as Action Nationale. The Canadian movement was deeply influenced by the ideas of Charles Maurras and Maurice Barrès, and there was much talk about *la race* and *la nation* in the writing of the 1920's and 1930's. It became fashionable to use French Canadianisms, instead of the somewhat formal and outmoded French taught in the classical colleges, and to idealize the rural traditions of Quebec. The nationalist writers urged their readers to use French at all times, to buy from French-Canadian firms, and to lay plans for the formation of a separate French-Canadian state, "Laurentia." But this goal was a geographic and economic impossibility, as the less hotheaded French Canadians recognized, for the period between 1920 and 1939 was characterized on the national and international levels by Canada's increasing involvement in international affairs and by its gradual shift from economic and political dependence upon Britain to a greater economic but lesser political dependence upon the United States. Both historical processes represented a threat to French-Canadian cultural survival and hence reinforced Quebec's tendency to turn inward upon itself in the period between the world wars.

French Canada's long conditioning against "Anglo-Saxon" imperialism resulted in some idle battling with a British political imperialism that was fast dying, while the lack of an economic point of view among the humanistically educated elite long

blinded them to the dangers of the new American economic penetration, which offered perhaps a more serious threat to a minority determined to maintain its separate way of life. The threat was finally recognized as a result of the simultaneous American cultural penetration of Quebec by means of radio, movies, and the press. While welcomed by the masses, to whom industrialization and urbanization brought a higher standard of living than they had previously known, "Americanization" was vigorously fought by the elite. This cultural anti-Americanism, which is abundantly in evidence in such nationalist organs as the newspaper *Le Devoir* and the review *L'Action nationale*, is perhaps best summed up in the Dominican symposium on *Notre américanisation* (1937). On the other hand, annexationism, which is a traditional rhetorical club used by both French and English Canadians whenever relations between the main Canadian ethnic groups reach a crucial state or the economic position of either group becomes too uncomfortable, was revived by the depression which began in 1929 and did not end in Quebec until 1939. The depression weighed more heavily upon the French Canadians than upon the English, for they had slimmer resources and were in good part wage earners. But at the outset of the depression Premier Louis-Alexandre Taschereau called annexation suicidal for the French Canadians, while pointing out that a system which had not saved Maine and Vermont from feeling the slump drastically could do no better for Quebec. And in 1941 a symposium of *L'Action nationale* on annexationism, which probably was brought about by the fall of France and French Canada's mounting antiwar feeling, was summed up by the conclusion that "we should not desire annexation," although French Canada's choice seemed to lie between "death by immersion and death by malnutrition," while "in any case French-Canadian preponderance on the shores of the St. Lawrence is finished."<sup>11</sup> The nationalists devoted the remaining war years to opposing conscription, all-out participation, and to the vain

<sup>11</sup> "L'Annexionisme," *L'Action nationale* (June 1941).



attempt to form a French-Canadian party, the Bloc Populaire, which would rule the province of Quebec and act as a balance of power at Ottawa. Despite the tensions and irritations of the war years, the Bloc proved to be neither a bloc nor very popular, and traditional political nationalism got a crushing blow when it collapsed.

During the 1930's, when the depression hit all levels of French Canada hard and forced the symbolic abandonment for a dozen years of the uncompleted new buildings of the University of Montreal on Mount Royal, there was a revival of the political and economic nationalism which had declined after 1923 with the industrial boom in Quebec. Young French-Canadian intellectuals, finding few or no economic opportunities available to them, turned against the capitalist system, which seemed to them to favour the English-Canadian and American economic overlords of Quebec. They became enamoured of the corporatism of Salazar's Portugal and Mussolini's Italy, though their enthusiasm was based more on a sense of affinity for "Latin order" than on any real understanding of practical economics. Some of the more radical of them became disciples of Fascism and Nazism, blaming the woes of French Canada on "Anglo-Saxon" economic imperialism or on an international conspiracy of Jewish financiers. The more moderate sought to make the Liberal party more responsive to their needs, but Paul Gouin's Action Nationale Liberale, after helping to oust the twenty-five-year-old Taschereau Liberal regime in 1936, was left out in the cold by the new Conservative premier Maurice Duplessis when he took power.

This political and economic nationalism produced in the late 1930's a series of ultranationalistic newspapers, of which Paul Bouchard's *La Nation* was the most vigorous. Some of these journals were covertly aided by the agents of Mussolini and Hitler working through the "Casa Italiano" and the German State Railways' office in Montreal. A native Fascist party, in close relations with the Nazis, was founded by Adrien Arcand.

Though his National Social Christian party was matched in English Canada by Major Scott's National Unity party, French and English Canada were generally divided on the question of Fascism. Most French Canadians supported Franco in the Spanish Civil War, while the English Canadians favoured the Republicans, and as a result of Labour-Progressive (Communist) initiative sent a Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion to join the International Brigade. There were riots in Montreal between French and English university students over the application of sanctions by Britain to Mussolini's Ethiopian venture and over the Spanish Civil War. A cult of *chefisme* arose in French Canada, but no generally accepted leader emerged from the rival nationalists who sought the honour of leading the French Canadians toward the goal of "Laurentia," a separate French state freed of the hobbles of "Anglo-Saxon" political and economic power. For nationalist parties in Quebec tend to disintegrate as rapidly as French political coalitions.

The literature of the period echoes these political developments and the reaction against an industrialism in slump. The memory of the Patriotes' rebellion in 1837-1838 and of English brutality in putting it down was revived by Gérard Filteau's *Histoire des Patriotes* (1938-1942) and Rex Desmarchais' novel *La Chesnaie* (1942), which carried on the racist tradition of Abbé Groulx's *L'Appel de la race* (1922) and *Au cap blomidon* (1932). Léo-Paul Desrosiers produced an able fictional account of Lord Durham's mission in Canada in *L'Accalmie* (1937), before turning to the fur trade of the Northwest in subsequent historical novels. Jean-Charles Harvey, who had preached economic emancipation in an early novel, *Marcel Faure* (1922), now produced in *Les Démi-civilisées* (1934) a sensational denunciation of Quebec high life and corrupt American ways. Claude-Henri Grignon ("Valdombre") published *Un homme et son péché* (1933), which has become a French-Canadian classic and provides the framework for the hardest perennial French soap opera. It is a realistic study of *habitant* avarice, coloured by

the romanticism of the old *terroir* school, which is still carried on by Harry Bernard in a long series of novels of rural life. Abbé F.-A. Savard idealized the pioneer farmer in his *Ménard, maître-draveur* (1937), while Dr. Philippe Panneton ("Ringuet") de-romanticized *habitant* life in *Trente arpentes* (1938). Harvey's *Les Demi-civilisées* and "Ringuet's" *Trente arpentes* were the first French-Canadian novels to be translated and published in English, and the latter achieved almost as much fame abroad as the young Frenchman Louis Hémon's *Maria Chapdelaine* (1916), the classic fictional account of French survival in Canada.

Isolated from Rome and Paris by the war, and at odds with English Canada and the United States on the question of all-out participation, French Canada sought cultural reinforcement in Latin America. Prompted by the students from the Antilles, and Central and South America who came to the French-Canadian universities when they were cut off from those of France, the French Canadians suddenly realized that there were others of "Latin" culture on a continent which they had long considered "Anglo-Saxon," and they proceeded enthusiastically to cultivate relations with them. A Union des Latins d'Amérique was founded in 1940 by Dostaler O'Leary, a prewar advocate of separatism. The movement was sponsored by the University of Montreal and imitated in the other French universities. But it foundered upon the fact that Latin America prided itself upon its heritage from the French Revolution, which remained to French Canadians a plague which they had happily escaped. Spanish-American Catholicism proved very different from that of French Canada and was far from dominant in the Latin-American university world, with its old traditions of free-thinking and anticlericalism and its new Marxism. Latin America was proud of its Indian heritage, while French Canada tended to be ashamed of its admixture of Indian blood. Overenthusiastic professions of brotherhood by Haitian cultural envoys produced in certain French-Canadian quarters the reaction: "After

all, we are not North American Negroes." An unanticipated development was the realization that the French Canadians were more North American than "Latin" in their ways of life and thought, despite the nationalist doctrine that they were the exclusive heirs of Athens, Rome, and Paris.

This heady doctrine was reinforced during the period from the fall of France to the liberation of Paris, when Montreal became the world centre of French publishing. French-Canadian writers, as well as publishers, flourished during this period, meeting the world demand for French books. But this boom collapsed when the Paris publishers resumed activity, though French-Canadian writing received an impetus which it since has preserved.

French Canada was once more thrown back upon its own cultural resources. The French Canadians determined to be themselves. Early in 1945 a French-Canadian Academy, modelled on the French Academy, was established in Montreal. Of its original twenty-four members, sixteen represented the liberal arts and eight the moral, political, and religious sciences. The Academy's board was headed by Victor Barbeau and included the novelists Léo-Paul Desrosiers and Robert Charbonneau. The foundation of the Academy was a landmark in the self-conscious development of a French-Canadian culture distinct from that of France. It was also a revolt against the artificial and somewhat strained yoking of two distinct cultures in the Royal Society of Canada, whose French-Canadian elder statesmen no longer commanded much respect from the younger generation. Many of the members of the Academy were nationalists who held that French-Canadian and English-Canadian cultures were irreconcilable and that the Royal Society was merely a mutual-admiration organization of *bonne-ententistes*. French-Canadian art and architecture, which had long mirrored the shifting fashions of Paris, also showed a certain tendency to return to native themes, but they avoided the earlier sentimentalism of such artists as Henri Julien and Suzor-Côté who had exploited *habitant* life. Thus a cultural

isolationism paralleled Quebec's political isolationism as a result of the conscription crisis late in 1944.

During World War II a French Canada rapidly altering under the impact of wartime industrialization and urbanization also underwent the liberalizing influences of a host of French-speaking intellectual refugees from war-torn Europe who passed through Quebec. It was significant of French-Canadian particularism and conservatism that few of them remained long or happily. The neo-Thomist philosophers Jacques Maritain and Etienne Gilson were not offered posts in the French-Canadian universities, but instead found refuge at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies at the University of Toronto and at the Ecole Libre in New York. The Polish University in Exile formed deeper roots at Fordham than at the University of Montreal. After the fall of France in 1940, the French-Canadian elite, particularly the clerics, sympathized at first with Pétain, whose program seemed to them a return to the traditional French values which they cherished, while De Gaulle found a few supporters among those French Canadians who knew modern France well. But as far as the French-Canadian people as a whole were concerned, there was little taking sides in France's Great Debate and a tendency to regard the fall of France as a providential judgement on her sins. The group of French-Canadian expatriate intellectuals, forced to return home from Paris by the overrunning of France, acted as a ferment in the French-Canadian cultural world. Many of the writers among them found refuge in the Public Archives at Ottawa, which became a sort of French-Canadian Academy where there was more personal liberty than in Quebec, while the artists fomented artistic revolutions in the provincial Ecoles des Beaux-Arts.

Reviews such as *La Relève* (continued as *La Nouvelle Relève*), *L'Amérique Française*, and *Gants de ciel* published avant-garde writing which reflected the enthusiasm of young French-Canadian intellectuals for Paul Claudel, Charles Péguy, Leon Bloy, and other radical French Catholics. *Les Compagnons*

de Saint-Laurent produced Henri Ghéon's and Claudel's plays, as well as the traditional Molière. By the postwar years young French Canadians were becoming socially progressive and contemptuous of the traditional tabus of "*les bonzes*," as they nicknamed the authorized spokesmen of French Canada. The heroes of this generation were: Père Georges-Henri Levesque, O.P., who founded a school of social studies at Laval University in 1941, which has trained many lay leaders for the Catholic syndicates formerly dominated by clerical chaplains and which has fearlessly sought the answers for some of Quebec's pressing social problems; the Abbé Robert Llewellyn, who espoused a similar liberal Catholicism at the University of Montreal, with the support of the sociologically trained Archbishop Charbonneau; Père Couturier, O.P., the apostle of modern religious art; and Père Rodolphe Dubé, S.J. ("François Hertel") whose Joycean novels and personalist poetry made him the idol of the young Montreal literati.

The intellectual ferment of the wartime and postwar years was reflected in a great outpouring of novels, poetry, plays, and above all criticism, for the classical-college training seems to produce more critics than creative writers. The satirical novels of Roger Lemelin—*Au pied de la pente douce* (1944), *La Famille Plouffe* (1948), and *Pierre le magnifique* (1952)<sup>12</sup>—dealing with urban proletarian rather than rural pastoral themes, set a new pattern of concern with the problems of urbanization and industrialization, which was soon followed by Gabrielle Roy's *Bonheur d'occasion* (1945) and *Alexandre Chênevert* (1953),<sup>13</sup> Jean Simard's *Hotel de la reine* (1949), and André Giroux's *Au delà les visages* (1948), although Germaine Guevrement carried on the old *terroir* tradition with *Le Souvenant* (1945) and *Marie-Didace* (1947). Anne Hébert with her *Le Torrent* (1950) developed the sensitive poetic tradition estab-

<sup>12</sup> Translated as *The Town Below* (1948), *The Plouffe Family* (1950), and *Pierre the Magnificent* (1953).

<sup>13</sup> Translated as *The Tin Flute* (1947) and *The Cashier* (1955).

lished by Saint-Denys Garneau's posthumous *Régards et jeux dans l'espaite* (1949), while Robert Choquette completed his *Suite maritime* (1954), long delayed by the insatiable demands made by the radio on the most popular French-Canadian writer of soap operas. Robert Charbonneau, Roger Duhamel, René Garneau, and Guy Sylvestre were the leading younger critics. Some painters gave French-Canadian painting an international bent—such as Alfred Pellan, whose work expertly mirrors the successive fads and fashions of the School of Paris, the abstractionists Paul-Emile Borduas and Jacques de Tonnancourt, and the nonrepresentational Jean-Paul Riopelle—while such genre painters as the landscapist Jean-Paul Lemieux, the Breughel-like Jean-Charles Faucher, and the political cartoonist Robert Lapalme have adopted French techniques to local subjects. So lively has the postwar French-Canadian art world been that the leading English-Canadian Montreal painters, such as John Lyman (a bridge between Maurice Cullen and Clarence Gagnon and the younger generation), Goodridge Roberts, and Stanley Cosgrove have associated themselves with the French art world rather than with the English one of Toronto. Architecture has flourished amid wartime and postwar prosperity. Ernest Cormier's University of Montreal buildings were finally opened in 1941 and have subsequently been completed, although this university city planned in the international style in 1926 was outmoded before it was finished. Modern churches, reflecting French experiments with ferro-concrete, glass brick, and other new materials, have been built, though they are usually found in such out of the way places as the Quebec suburbs (Boischatel), the lower St. Lawrence (Matane), Joliette, and Mt. Laurier, rather than in the heart of the older cities, where the conservative bourgeois taste for the imitative traditional still prevails. Private houses and business offices in Montreal have offered a freer field for experiments in the new styles.

French-Canadian music largely remains true to its strong folk-music and choral traditions, producing many capable vocal-

ists and instrumentalists but few notable composers. The same is true of sculpture, which tends to be loyal to the academic traditions of the Rome and Paris studios, except for the work of Louis Archambault. Some striking modern work has been done in ceramics and gold and silver by a few individuals such as Henri Beaugrand-Champagne and Gilles Beausoleil, who carry on in new forms the tradition of the great artisans of the late French and early English regimes. Woodsculpture flourishes, another persistent French-Canadian folk tradition now affected by international influences and somewhat corrupted by commercialism.

The long-suppressed Gallic passion for the theatre now finds outlets in Canada's radio and television programs, as well as on the regular stage in such successors to *Les Compagnons de Saint-Laurent* as *Le Théâtre du Nouveau Monde*. French Canada's great classic comic tragedian Fridolin (Gratien Gelin), who used to write, stage, and take the leading roles in an annual satirical review of French-Canadian life, has developed into an actor-playwright whose major work, *Tit-Coq* (1948), a sentimental though penetrating account of a French-Canadian conscript during the last war, won acclaim in Toronto as well as in Montreal and Quebec, though it received unfavourable notices from New York critics unfamiliar with the background. There was a short-lived wartime and postwar effort to make French films in Montreal, which resulted in such notable productions as *Maria Chapdelaine*, *Séraphin*, and *Tit-Coq*, but the producers were soon put out of business by the postwar revival of the French and British film industries, as well as by Hollywood's domination of Canadian theatres. French Canadians have made notable contributions to the work of the National Film Board, which produces films in both official languages and has done some first-rate films on Quebec.

One of the most striking developments in the decade since the end of World War II has been the gradual coming together of French- and English-Canadian nationalism, with a largely



war-born nationalism aligning far more English Canadians than ever before in the traditional French-Canadian chauvinistic Canadianism and rejection of foreign influences, whether English, French, or American. The official support given by the Massey Report<sup>14</sup> on Canadian culture to cultural dualism, and the sympathetic understanding shown by the Commission to French-Canadian culture, have vastly improved relations between the two chief peoples of Canada. Since the war more and more English Canadians have realized that culturally Canada must be both French and English if it is not to be American, and there are an increasing number of points of contact between the two cultures which for so long have been separated.<sup>15</sup> Despite the political fireworks aroused in Quebec by the Commission's venture into the field of education, one jealously guarded by Quebec to ensure cultural survival, French Canada generally was sympathetic to the Report, which dealt exhaustively with cultural problems long given higher priority by French than English Canadians. When the Report appeared, the French press hailed the prospect of federal support for culture, while the English press questioned whether cultural activities were a proper function of government.

French-Canadian cultural achievement, which is remarkable in view of the small numbers and minority status of the French Canadians and the comparative poverty of French Canada, should be still more notable when the recommendations of the

<sup>14</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences* (Ottawa, 1951). See also the supplementary volume, *Royal Commission Studies* (Ottawa, 1951).

<sup>15</sup> Pierre Chauveau, one of the first Canadian literary men and the first Superintendent of Public Instruction in Quebec, likened Canada in 1876 to the famous staircase of the Chateau de Chambord, so constructed that two persons could ascend without meeting and without seeing each other except at intervals. He added: "In social and literary terms we are far more foreign to each other than the English and French of Europe." This situation prevailed until the end of World War II, as noted in the title of Hugh MacLennan's *Two Solitudes*, the best Canadian novel dealing with intercultural relations.

Report are implemented, if one can judge by the work already done by French Canadians in the federally supported Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Film Board. French Canada appears to be well on the road to a cultural flowering reminiscent of that in New England in the mid-nineteenth century, but arising from a highly distinctive mixture of the French tradition, the North American environment, and English and American influences. But it may be well for the many-talented French Canadians in the years to come to remember Whitman's warning, in his "Song of Myself" so magnificently translated by Rosaire Dion-Levesque: "Je résiste à tout mieux qu'à ma propre diversité." <sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Rosaire Dion-Levesque, *Walt Whitman* (Montreal, 1933), p. 62

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